THE

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. III. Second Series.] APRIL, 1868. [No. 4.

I.—GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

A Fragment.

THE LAST WRITING OF THE LATE DOCTOR JOHN W. FRANCIS, OF NEW YORK.*

NEW YORK, Nov. 17, 1860.

HENRY B. DAWSON, Esq., Author of *The Sons of Liberty of New York*, &c.

DEAR SIR:—

My conviction of your earnest desire, as a searcher after truth, to record faithfully the events of American history, is derived not only from your published writings, but from the opinions which you lately expressed touching the responsibilities of the historian. I was gratified to learn the high opinion you have formed of the talents and services of the late Gouverneur Morris. That renowned man was distinguished by remarkable qualities, and must ever hold a prominent place in our annals; and among his contemporaries he was looked upon with admiration and esteem. He has long since passed away from the scenes of active life in which he bore so conspicuous a part, yet the few remaining survivors that witnessed his career still retain the strongest impression of his heroic character. Identified with several of the most momentous events of our Colonial History, associated with the Provincial Congress, the General Congress, in measures connected with the Revolutionary Congress, with the finances of the country, abroad as Minister at the Court of France, with his subsequent career in the Senate of the United States, he cannot be contemplated without reverence to his patriotism and an exalted estimate of his public services. He had a most impressive personal appearance: few men ever equalled his commanding bearing: while his superb physical organization enlisted attention, his strong intellectual expression manifested the man of thought and capacity. His talents were acknowledged by all: with some his political principles were deemed too aristocratic for a republic. But he was a Son of Liberty; the genius of American freedom was born with him and nurtured by his studies and his labors. The closest scrutiny into his principles develops the philosophy of great deeds only for the benefit of the social compact and to advance the interests of society at large. Among the great features of his character was his frank utterance of opinion, and his readiness on all fitting occasions to dedicate his powers to the furtherance of salutary objects. He justly boasted of having drawn up the Constitution of the United States; but he was no less proud of having been an effective agent with Clinton, Fulton, and others in the early development and promotion of the Canal policy of the State of New York. Our gratitude toward him is further enhanced when we consider how strenuous were his efforts to improve the physical condition and local advantages enjoyed by nature for the now metropolitan city of the Union. The portrait of him painted by Ames is not to be looked upon with indiffence, but it needs a grander and a loftier port, and a more vivacious and penetrating eye.

His mental attributes were of an elevated order and of a wide range. He was classical, and, like all men of active pursuits whom I have known, when enriched with scholarship, delighted in Horace. The more immediate object of his life after his retirement at Morrisania was the cultivation of husbandry; arboriculture and the rearing of flocks. He was eminently an enlightened practical farmer, seeking health and the gratification of his love of nature amid rural scenery. His great mental resource was history; the rise and fall of nations, the biography of statesmen and philosophers, and the records of the services of the explorers in science and the arts. In many of his investigations he kept pace with the progressive march of physical knowledge and

*This article, mostly written during the last sickness of its distinguished author, was his last work on earth. It was still unfinished when he was removed by death; and it did not reach us until the places which had known him so long, knew him no longer.

The circumstances under which it was written will account for some errors which will readily be corrected by the historical critic. It is only remarkable that the venerable Author's memory was so little impaired by age and sickness. We print it here, that others may share in our satisfaction with this valued memento of our departed friend H. B. D.

domestic economy, and had studied with attention the theories set forth in medical literature. In the mechanical arts he displayed a research that often excited the wonder of the professed artisan. Though of lofty bearing his intercourse with intelligence even among the most humble excited the admiration of every beholder: a disquisition on tanning, an exposition of the philosophy of the chronometer, on the shoeing of horses, or other incidental circumstance might awaken new zeal in the minds of those with whom he might be in converse. He was ever for progress, and though like Burke he was thus disciplined, and could discuss with profitable issues the arts and sciences, he had kindlier feelings towards his friend Robert Fulton than the great Irish orator evinced towards the greater engineer, James Watt. The prolific theme of his conversation, however, was the story of the American Colonies, their struggle for freedom, and the triumphs of their revolt. He cherished an almost unbounded confidence in the mental capacity and energy of a nation sprung from a cosmopolitan origin. "The "crossing of the race," he was wont to say, "is the "salvation of the intellectual powers of a people." Few more practical expositions than he delivered could be given by any one on the art of cookery. He was an adept in all its mysteries, and his views of its importance to health and longevity might arouse to new desires the faculties of the most fastidious epicure. Had the organization of a new College fallen to his lot he might have created therein more Professors of the art of Cookery than of the dead languages. Fertile and discursive as was his imagination, enriched too with the graces of elegant letters, lost as at times, as he might seem, in ingenious speculations or recondite enquiries, the bent of his intellectual powers was mainly directed to the useful and the practical, and a listless hearer might not discover how felicitously he blended the overflowings of fancy with inductive reasoning and practical science. Nor were these engaging powers of his mind the results of mere reading: he was a close observer, and in France and in England had witnessed with his own eyes the complex workings of the loom, and the spindle, and the manufacturing establishments of Britain. While Minister in France, when released from State affairs, he was a devoted student of that vast body of physical science and mechanical philosophy found in the pages of the French *Encyclopædia;* and the copy which he then possessed, by his generosity, is now to be seen in the library of the New York Historical Society

I will trespass a moment in giving you an anecdote illustrative of his innate courage and his generous nature. In 1780, then residing in Philadelphia, while riding out, an accident occurred to his carriage, which fractured the vehicle and his left leg. He was conveyed home, and a consultation with several of the most eminent of the faculty was forthwith held. The decision, at that period of surgical science, was the amputation of the limb. He heard the report with great calmness, and was soon ready to submit. In casting his eyes about his chamber, he remarked, "Gentlemen, I see around me the eminent men of "your profession, all acknowledged competent to "the performance of the operation. You have al- "ready secured renown, the capital by which you "live. Now the removal of my leg cannot add to "your celebrity; is there not one among you younger "in your calling who might perform the act, and "thus secure the *eclat* for his benefit?" Young Hutchenson was pointed out. "I will select him," uttered Morris, "let him rise to fame by amputa- "ting the leg of Gouverneur Morris." The operation by Hutchenson giving entire satisfaction, several remarked in approbation of the skill that had been displayed and on the beauty of the stump. "You speak so eloquently," added Morris, "would "it not be advantageous to remove the other limb? "we might then have a brace."

His conversational talents were of the most captivating and instructive quality. His vigorous imagination imparted interest to the humblest subject, while the force and beauty of his diction led captive the listener. He had cultivated this power by his close reading of the great writers of classical English, Shakespeare and Addison, Johnson and Chatham. I had known the man from March, 1804, when I was a boy, and he was first pointed out to me by an eminent Editor, who, while in my engagement with him, hurried me to his office door with the exclamation, "Boy, behold "that man with the wooden leg, now opposite, and "near Wall-street; a great man," added he, "Gouv- "erneur Morris." Years after, it was my fortune often to enjoy his society, in business or in the domestic circle. He never departed from his greatness in my eyes: and I felt that reverence for him that that noble band of patriots of whom he was one, ever fostered. I believe my acquaintance with the original Canal Board embraced the entire commission. With Morris, Eddy, and Livingston, I was oftenest present. Repeated interviews of this nature had rendered the atmosphere of repulsion which sometimes surrounded Mr. Morris less difficult of approach. His narrative of the Canal of Languedoc, his account of the waters of Marle, his geology of Western New York, his trials and privations with his associates on his exploring tour as Canal Commissioner, his interviews with Jemima Wilkinson, are among the topics that have left the strongest impression on my memory. While his taste was that of the scrupulous gastronome, he was moderate in his drinks, and he gave me the best idea I ever had of the temperance of Thomas Jefferson.

When he spoke he expected the listening ear. On a certain occasion he had entered on a disputatious subject, when perceiving the attention of his hearers beginning to flag, he suddenly ejaculated, "I shall address the teapot," and he accordingly closed his argument with that silent representative. It was an effective veto on all interruption.

He was impatient at trifling, and was prompt at reproof. I was seated near his little boy, at the dining table, on the day I think when he had delivered his discourse on the Restoration of the Bourbons. In measured accents I asked the intelligent little fellow if he had read the story of Jack the Giant-killer. "Tell the Doctor, my son," interposed Mr. Morris, "your studies are Gustavus "Adolphus and Charles the Twelfth of Sweden." I need not add, I was withered. Morris however was full of kindly feelings: he often manifested this humane tendency by his inquiries concerning matters promotive of national or personal affairs. He was at times caustically severe on what in more modern language are called Yankee Notions. He had little charity for the mere religious formalist, and could endure but with impatience the axioms of the puritanical proselyte. Yet he possessed the religious element; and the mellowed reflections of my riper years have brought me to the conclusion that he felt the force and necessity of Christian obligation, and estimated the more highly the individual influenced by it. His wide knowledge of men and things had well taught him the difference between profession and possession.

While the most lowly incident might attract his notice, he delighted in great occurrences and in classical imagery. Every one who is familiar with his speeches, is apprized of his impressive appeals to heaven and Almighty God on occasions when his feelings were wrought to their highest pitch. What a psychological service had been performed were he and Edward Everett to have had the keen encounter, or to have coalesced on some mighty topic!

Gouverneur Morris is to be enumerated among the "strong" men of the memorable era in which he flourished. As an orator he unquestionably fills a place in the rank which contains Hamilton and Chancellor Livingston. Conscious knowledge and his undaunted courage were the main support of his oratorical power. He dealt with principles rather than with details: these he had fortified himself with, ere he appeared at the forum or in the hall; and, unlike Burke, he never allowed his audience to become weary or indifferent. His memory was tenacious and ready on an emergency. He was voluble in utterance, and possessed the *ore rotundo* more happily than any other speaker I have ever listened to: he was free from eccentricities; yet characterized by strong peculiarities. His voice was clear, full, harmonious; his diction straightforward: he was free of the raucous tone of Chalmers, and of Brougham, and our Emmet: he was rarely obscure—he could not be wearisome. If he sometimes failed of the intensity of Webster he won admiration by his felicitous diction. He could scarcely descend to the playfulness of Clay. If he lacked at times the outbursts of the classical Francis Stoner, he escaped the difficulties which sometimes annoyed that masterly rhetorician. He was bold in the avowal of his sentiments, though it might prove disadvantageous to his popularity. The quickened sensibilities of his nature on questions of the gravest interest may sometimes have given birth to expressions which maturer reflection would have suppressed. Thus, in his speech on the Judiciary, delivered in February, 1801, in the warmth of his oratory, amid the most substantial reasonings, after reminding the House of the dangers to which popular governments are exposed, from the influence of designing demagogues upon popular passion, "I take the liberty to add," says he, "that we, the Senate of the United States, are assembled here to save the people from their "most dangerous enemy, to save them from themselves, to guard them against the baneful effects "of their own precipitation, their passion, their "misguided zeal." Sound as the principle may have been, and felt to be pregnant truth by Morris as a deep and experienced Statesman, how often in my earlier days have I heard those memorable words, "*The People, their own worst enemy*," echoed aloud in assemblies, and reiterated in the public streets to the detriment of this enlightened patriot. But Morris through his whole life felt superior to popular clamor. I have a firm recollection of the *eclat* with which his memorable speech on the Navigation of the Mississippi was received in this city, in 1803. Its reading discloses the richness of his language and the capabilities of his parliamentary powers. In this, his last great public effort in the Senate of the United States, imagination and reasoning seem to hold dalliance, while the noblest patriotism pervades the entire composition.

But let us come nearer home, to the period when Mr. Morris had left public life at Washington, and become a fixed resident at Morrisania, the place of his birth. At this beautiful retreat he passed nearly the entire residue of his life, engaged in agricultural affairs, in the study of history, and in works of practical science. Here he maintained that elegant hospitality with his distinguished political friends and men of renown that made a visit at his mansion almost an era in the fortunate individual's life, who had partaken of his intellectual repast. Nor did the public occurrences of the day transpire unheeded by him. I have already adverted to his zeal and ability

with Clinton, in giving countenance and support to the Canal policy of the State. He was often summoned to give his advice on public affairs, and was ever ready to assume responsibility on events of moment. Little more than a year had elapsed from his settlement at Morrisania ere he was called to pronounce a funeral address on his beloved Hamilton, whose unexpected death and its manner had awakened the community to universal lamentation. I had witnessed the solemn obsequies to the memory of Washington. I could not now fail to be of the multitude who were to do homage to his compatriot in arms and in counsel, the illustrious Hamilton. Never was grief more strongly depicted on every countenance, never had sorrow sunk deeper in every heart than on the occasion of his death. During that sad and memorable day of a nation's loss, I found myself amidst the groups of afflicted citizens formed at almost every corner of the streets: some lost in the magnitude of the calamity; others loud in execrations of the perpetrator of the fatal deed. Silence reigned in every place of business, and the heavens themselves seemed to wear a gloomy aspect. In my journeyings to and fro I obtained a place near the feet of Mr. Morris, on the steps of the portico of old Trinity, while the orator delivered his brief but effective discourse over the dead body of the great patriot. It was the first time I heard the great speaker. His sensibilities and his powers were manifested around me; his own countenance was suffused with grief, while every eye of the crowded multitude was bedewed with tears. I saw many unable to preserve an erect posture, and several individuals, with whom I became better acquainted in after life, as Colonel Troup, Colonel Fish, Judge Pendleton, Coleman, the editorial eulogist of Hamilton, and others, sobbing aloud in anguish. His utterance at first seemed broken and suppressed; but his powers rose as he advanced in the performance of his sacred duty; his affectionate principles kindled with increased strength, and as if an angel spoke, the tokens of his love and devotion overwhelmed every heart. Even at this remote day none can read that address, brief as it is, without wonder at its copiousness. The severest critic will find in it the embodiment of the delicious consolations of the burial service, in language perhaps little inferior in pregnant thought and elevation of diction. . In addressing the vast assemblage at his commencement, he had said, "Far from exciting your emotions, I must try to "repress my own, and yet, I fear, that instead of "the language of a public speaker, you will hear "only the lamentations of a wailing friend. But "I will struggle with my bursting heart to portray "that heroic spirit which has flown to the mansions "of bliss." He proved more than conqueror.

With my fondness to witness the performances of extraordinary men, whether in the pulpit, at the bar, on the stage, or in the oratorical hall, I was fortunate to be of the listener to each discourse which Gouverneur Morris subsequently delivered. His addresses before our New York Historical Society have added to the renown imparted to that institution by Clinton and Verplanck, Jarvis, Hosack, and Kent. His laudations exalt the attributes of our Dutch ancestors; his praise of history, ancient and modern, holds out the strongest persuasives to its study; and the religious element for the government of man is enforced with the zeal of a sacred expositor. His address on the restoration of the Bourbons in France, in 1814 is yet well remembered by the survivors of that audience that were present on that special occasion. Many of its passages are repeated at this very day. He never appeared as a speaker to greater advantage. He had been an eye-witness to many of the early scenes of the French Revolution; in his sylvan retreat he had made a study of Napoleon; the Conqueror conquered was a theme congenial with the best utterances of his heart; his aristocratic bearing, his sonorous voice, his convictions and the fulness of his subject, produced an effect no less rare than prodigious. The tribute he paid to the patriotic George Clinton, who holds so prominent a place in the War of the Revolution and in our State Government as the dauntless soldier and wise statesman, was only another demonstration of the exalted estimate he possessed of that incorruptible hero and virtuous character. The sympathies of friendship were strong indeed between Morris and Clinton, and brief as is the notice by Morris of the extraordinary services of the old Governor, it will be appreciated as a precious memoir of the renowned man.

After what I have thus briefly said, do you ask then what were the elements of this great man's oratorical power? Inward conviction and a fearless and energetic utterance. There was a purpose in his design, and as an earnest man his words were the words of earnestness. His yearnings sprung from the love of country.

There is a circumstance in the life of this great man which deserves a passing notice, and concerning which I will say a few words. With all his affluence he seemed to have had little to do with the fashion of the day. His intercourse with the men of the age, the patriots of the Revolution and the statesmen who had acted with him, was of the most cordial nature, and I believe there was hardly an exception to this warm attachment which he cherished for his contemporaries, nor was it once checkered by reverse. His correspondence with Washington speaks for itself. His love for Hamilton we have already noticed; with Jay and Rufus King the intercourse maintained was that of warmly attached friends. He has

told us of his admiration of Robert Fulton, and of his appreciation of De Witt Clinton. His full knowledge and variety, with his undaunted confidence, rendered him the autocrat of the social board. The practical sciences had fallen within the scope of his studies, and his anecdotical fund was ready at command. He won esteem for his intellect; he contributed knowledge without parsimony. The happy line which Johnson applied to Goldsmith, might not inaptly be cited in behalf of Morris's conversational talents:

"Nihil tetigit, quod non ornavit."

You will pardon me if I add one other anecdote illustrative of that pungent manner which Mr. Morris so dexterously employed on some occasions. He never did anything by halves. A soiree of the *savants* of the city had been convened, at the house of Doctor Hosack, composed of divines, lawyers, doctors, and others of renown. Mr. Morris was of the number. The evening hour of appointment had passed over some forty or fifty minutes, when the host hurried in, apologizing for his absence, and giving as an apology that he had been engaged with his friend, Doctor Williamson, in forming a Philosophical Society. "Well, Doc-"tor," says Morris, "that's no difficult matter." "But Mr. Morris," rejoined Hosack, "we have "formed a Philosophical Society, adopted a Con-"stitution, By-laws, and selected our prominent "officers." "All that," observed Morris, "is no "difficult matter; but pray, Doctor, where are the "philosophers?" Silence followed the interrogatory, succeeded by a hearty laugh.

Among your queries you ask for information as to the observations which Mr. Morris made concerning the consequences which sprung out of the memorable trial of John Peter Zenger.

The account I communicated to the Historical Society, at their fortieth Anniversary Meeting, in 1844, was literally correct. Years before, 1812, Mr. Morris, as Vice President and in the absence of De Witt Clinton, presided. I had drawn up a Report, as Librarian of the Society; which was submitted to Mr. Morris, who read it, and was signally gratified when I informed him that the library embraced a large collection of the newspapers of the Colonial period, among others, Bradford's and the *Journal* of Zenger. Morris dilated largely on the importance of preserving newspapers. "They are," said he, "the most faith-"ful materials on which we can ever rely for Ameri-"can history. The newspaper press is endeared to "the feelings of Americans, by the strongest con-"sideration of patriotism. The free strictures "on the administration of Governor Cosby and his "Council, printed in the *Weekly Journal* of the "city of New York, by John Peter Zenger, roused "the energies of a whole people; the trial of "Zenger in 1736, was the germ of American free-"dom; the morning star of that liberty which "subsequently revolutionized America." The fact, as I have stated, has been repeatedly made use of by our historical writers; and the acquittal of Zenger is dwelt upon as a pregnant circumstance, in Butler's discourse. Our American historian, Doctor Bancroft, seems to place the incident in a qualified light; but I have not with my limited sources of knowledge been able to find any contemporaneous event throughout the colonies. I feel entire confidence in the official documents published by Dunlap, and in the animadversions of the late Chancellor Kent.

The little that I have been able to collect concerning Zenger tends to prove the opinion that he was an intelligent man, of an heroic spirit, and something of a musical genius. The ladies will not think the less of him when they know that he imported the first harpsichord, now transformed into the piano, in this city.

The physical temperament and mental energies of Mr. Morris were preserved with uniform ability to the very end of his life. The same muscular tone, the same exuberance of feeling, the same prompt and active display of intellectual resources were all in harmony, and never forsook him or abated of their function. Up to near the moment of his final departure, his enlarged views and broad conception of things held their characteristics. I am grieved to say that his great confidence of the safety of his medical practice in his own case was a leading cause of the infirmity which took him from us in the fulness of his powers. He had written some time previous an interesting letter on the acid formations of gout, addressed to his friend and physician, Doctor Hosack: but he seems not to have been fully aware that in some cases the gouty diathesis is sadly detrimental to local disease. When informed of his approaching end, he received the intelligence with philosophical composure, sustained by religious belief. He had been explicit on that absorbing subject. He had declared a short while before in an historical discourse, that he regarded religious principles as necessary to national independence and peace. "There must be some-"thing," says he, "more to hope than pleasure, "wealth, and power. Something more to fear than "poverty and pain. Something after death more "terrible than death. There must be religion. "When that ligament is torn, society is disjointed "and its members perish." He passed his last night with tolerable composure. On the morning of his death he enquired of his devoted nephew what kind of a day it was. "A beautiful day," was the reply. "The air is soft, the sky cloudless, "the water like crystal; you hear every ripple, and "even the plash of the steamboat wheels on the "river: it is a beautiful day." The dying man seemed to take in this description with that zest

for nature which accorded with the poetic instinct of his character. Like Webster, his mind reverted to Gray's *Elegy*. He looked at the kind relative, and repeated his words, "A beautiful day; yes, "but

"—— Who, to dumb forgetfulness a prey
"This pleasing, anxious being e'er resigned,
"Left the warm precincts of the cheerful day,
"Nor cast one longing, lingering look behind?"

He died in the same chamber in which he first saw light, on the sixth of November, 1816, in the sixty-fourth year of his age.

II.—HISTORY OF THE EXPEDITION AGAINST THE FIVE NATIONS, COMMANDED BY GENERAL SULLIVAN, IN 1779.

By Nathan Davis.

Communicated by the Rev. Pliny H. White, President of the Vermont Historical Society.

[In July, 1778, the Wyoming Valley was the theatre of one of the most atrocious massacres of which American history makes any record. Eleven hundred tories and Indians, under the command of Colonel John Butler, entered the valley, defeated with great slaughter a smaller force which resisted their progress, and compelled the surrender of Forty Fort, near Wilkesbarre, whither numerous families had fled for safety. When these families, relying upon the humane terms of the capitulation, had returned to their homes, the Indians, uncontrolled and probably uncontrollable, by their white commanders, traversed the valley, burning dwellings, murdering in cold blood many of the inhabitants, and driving into the mountains a multitude of women and children, who escaped the tomahawk and scalping knife only to perish by hunger and fatigue.

These atrocities, with others of the same kind which followed them, roused the indignation of the American people, and in the summer of 1779, General John Sullivan was sent with a strong force into the heart of the country of the Six Nations to punish them, and in the course of about three weeks, he destroyed forty Indian villages and a vast amount of food.

Nathan Davis, the author of the "history" herewith communicated, was a soldier in that Expedition, and wrote, or more probably dictated this paper, many years afterward, with intent to publish it, but it has remained in manuscript till now.

He was born in Mansfield, Connecticut, on the seventh of May, 1762. His father's name is not known. His mother's maiden name was Phebe Doane. In the seventeenth year of his age, he enlisted in the Revolutionary Army, and served three years. When the war was ended, he took up his residence in Hanover, New Hampshire, and there married, on the third of June, 1783, Tryhena Eaton, a native of South Hadley, Massachusetts; born on the twenty-sixth of August, 1762. In March, 1785, he became a resident of Randolph, Vermont, where he had previously acquired a tract of land. The town was then an almost unbroken wilderness. His house was a log-cabin, without floor, and with no roof except one of boughs. For several years he and his family endured all the hardships and privations which are incident to pioneer life.

At a later date he became a resident of East Bethel, Vermont, where he built the first grist-mill; where he also kept the first public-house, from 1812 to 1816. In the spring of 1817, he removed to Royalton, where he carried on a farm and kept a public-house. There he died, on the seventh of February, 1831. His wife, by whom he had twelve children, survived him fourteen years.

He was a cheerful, humorous, hospitable, and benevolent man, a church-member, a Free-mason, and a Democrat. During the latter part of his life, he enjoyed a pension for his Revolutionary services. P. H. W.]

It is well known to the public that the Six Nations, with the exception of the Oneidas, had been induced by the English to take up arms against America, and were continually burning, killing, and scalping our frontier inhabitants. It was thought best by our Government to check, if possible, their murderous depredations.* In the year 1779, General Sullivan was directed, with four Brigades of Infantry, commanded by General Hand of Pennsylvania, General Poor of New Hampshire, General Maxwell of New Jersey, and General Clinton of New York, together with a Regiment of Artillery, commanded by Colonel Procter, to march into their territory, up the Susquehannah, and attack them.

On the sixth of April, we were ordered to march from our winter-quarters, at Reading, Connecticut, to Easton, Pennsylvania. Here we made a halt for a few days, waiting the arrival of Colonel Procter, with his Regiment. We then took up our line of march for Wyoming, (now called Wilkesbarre,) on the Susquehannah; and in a few days, found ourselves on the margin of the Great Swamp, (so called,) said to be thirty miles across, where we were compelled to halt.

Here it became necessary to construct a kind of bridge for several miles together, by laying timber crosswise, and the swamp being so miry that it was utterly impossible to employ horses, we were compelled to move all the timber by hand. We had to build two bridges of considerable magnitude, over the large streams, which run through this dismal part of creation. It soon became necessary to send a number of men to Wyoming, to go down the Susquehannah to procure boats and to bring flour and other necessaries for the use of the troops. This necessarily lessened the number of our men, and hindered the progress of our work, as General Clinton's army had not yet joined us. Notwithstanding the disadvantage under which we labored, we persevered in our undertakings, and finally, in a number of weeks, completed it.

This done, we moved on to Wyoming, where we made another long halt, in order to collect the necessary supplies of provisions and baggage horses for the use of the army.†

It was now the month of June, and the season afforded us an excellent opportunity to observe the country and the surrounding scenery. The land, on the river, is exceedingly fertile, and well adopted to cultivation. At this time Nature was decked in all her loveliness, and a striking contrast was exhibited to our view, between the

* *Journal of Congress*, Thursday, February 25, 1779; General Washington to Congress, March 3, 1779. H. B. D.

† This delay was occasioned by the loss of the greater part of the stores, which had been spoiled, and in order to obtain additional supplies of ammunition. Gordon, iii, 303; Marshall's *Washington*, iv, 154. H. B. D.

works of man and his Creator. "All save the "spirit of man, was divine." This part of the country had lately been all destroyed, burnt, and pillaged by the Indians: its inhabitants murdered and scalped. Here and there lay a human skeleton bleaching in the woods or in the open field, with the marks of the tomahawk upon it.

We remained in this place, till some time in the month of July,* when we again marched up the river to Tioga Point, carrying all our baggage, ammunition, provision and field pieces in boats.

Here we erected two block houses, and surrounded them with pickets. Here too, General Sullivan expected the reinforcement of General Clinton's Brigade from Cherry Valley. We were now within about ten or twelve miles of Chemung, where was encamped, the Indian and Tory army, under the command of Butler and Brant, waiting to give us a pretty warm reception.

While here, we had several light skirmishes with the Indians. At one time, about noon, the commissioned and non-commissioned officers and musicians being called out on fatigue to relieve the soldiers, and having gone to their tents for dinner, the soldiers while viewing the block-house, then just begun, were fired upon by a few Indians, secreted in a copse not far distant, and one man killed and another wounded. At another time, having nearly completed our works, and while waiting for the reinforcement above mentioned, General Sullivan ordered a large body of troops to march, at sunset, for Chemung, to surprise the enemy. They accordingly marched all night, and arrived at Chemung about break of day; but to their astonishment, found no enemy there. They remained under arms till sunrise, when they went into the fields, to pick green corn; the Indians then fired upon them from an ambush, killed some, and wounded two or three more. After destroying the town, and pillaging the corn field, they returned to camp.†

As General Clinton's troops had not yet joined us, the Commander directed a party to go through the woods, piloted by some friendly Indians, and meet them. After marching some distance, the Commander of the party thought best to send three chosen veterans to proceed by themselves: hoping that it might expedite the junction of the two armies. The three men, chosen for this purpose, were Sergeant Joseph Henderson, Sergeant Thomas Scott, and a Peter Stevens, all of whom belonged to the first New Hampshire Regiment commanded by Colonel Joseph Cilley of Nottingham.

These fearless heroes, with only three days' allowance of provision, shouldered their muskets and set forward. Not meeting General Clinton, as they expected, they concluded that they had missed their point, and had passed him. They then attempted to return, but in doing this, lost themselves in the wilderness; and after wandering about for twelve days, they, at last, came across General Clinton's track, and found their way back to our garrison, worn down with fatigue and almost famished with hunger. They suffered extremely from the cold damps by nights, not daring to indulge themselves with a fire, lest they should be discovered by the Indians, who were, without doubt, prowling through every part of the wilderness. There these worthy sons of New Hampshire were supposed to be lost, and probably massacred by the savages. Their reappearance was a matter of joyful surprise. Before their arrival, however, the main army had taken up their march for the Genesee river. Henderson and Stevens were so worn down by fatigue and hunger, that it took a long while to restore them to their former health, but Scott, a true son of Hibernia, although a native of this country, after a few days' rest, declared that he was again fit for any enterprise, and went to the commander of the garrison, requesting permission to proceed after the army. The commander, after much importunity, gave him liberty to go, though with little expectation that he would escape being massacred by the Indians. With as much provision as he could conveniently carry, he started alone on our track, and overtook us not far from Cayuga lake. It was in the morning, as we were about to march, when Scott made his appearance like one risen from the dead. Officers and soldiers immediately gathered around and embraced him; the air rung with repeated shouts of "*Scott's "alive!*" "*Scott's alive!*" "*He's come!*" "*He's "come!*"

Our order of march through the inhospitable wilderness, was in the following manner: We formed a hollow square; General Hand in front, General Poor on the right, General Maxwell on the left, and General Clinton in the rear. Within the hollow square was placed Colonel Procter's Regiment of Artillery, together with our luggage horses, carrying our flour, tents, etc., and our beef cattle. We were ordered to march in platoons, eight deep, which made it more fatiguing than it otherwise would have been; each one being strictly ordered to keep his place. In this situation, we could form a front of three Brigades, should we happen to be attacked on either

* The last day of July. Major Daniel Livermore's *Journal*, July 31st; Lieutenant William Barton's *Journal*, July 31st; Dr. Ebenezer Elmer's *Journal*, July 31st, Miner's *Wyoming*, 267. H. B. D.

† The last-mentioned affair occurred on the twelfth of August, the day after the army reached Tioga Point.

It appears from the *Journals* of Major Livermore, Lieutenant Barton, and Doctor Elmer, as well as from the published correspondence of that period, that this movement was commanded by General Hand; that seventeen wigwams and several fields of corn were destroyed; and that seven of our men were killed, and Major Franklin of Wyoming, seriously wounded. H. B. D.

side, with one Brigade in the rear, as a reserve. It was the latter part of August when we started from our garrison, in high spirits and good health.* We pursued our way to Chemung, and finding no enemy there,† we turned to the right, in order to strike near the Oneida lake.

We came to a place called Newton, where we discovered that the enemy was waiting to give us an unwelcome salute.

This discovery was made on Sunday morning, the twenty-ninth August, by our sagacious riflemen, who were satisfied, from appearances, that there were Indians hard by. A Council of the Field-officers was immediately held, and arrangements made for a general attack.

Whilst this was doing, our riflemen discovered at a little distance in front, a sure indication of an ambush.‡ In the direction of our march, was a very deep defile, occasioned by a brook of water running through a pine plain;§ the banks of the brook were very steep and high, and the growth of timber small and very thick. On the opposite bank, it was observed to be thicker and in greater regularity than it would have been had dame Nature herself placed it there. The conclusion was that Indians lay concealed behind it, as finally proved to be the case. They had made a kind of breast work of small pine timber, and had that morning, cut small saplings, and stuck them in the ground, in front of it.¶

General Poor was ordered to take possession of a certain hill, which lay at some distance, partly to the right;‖ whilst General Maxwell was directed to oblique to the left, in order to turn the enemy's right flank.**

We had not proceeded half a mile, when General Sullivan gave orders to Colonel Procter to open his six or eight brass field pieces, from six to three pounders, and also a small howitzer which hove a small bomb, upon the enemy's breastwork. The object of this order was to draw the attention of the Indians off from General Poor. The order was obeyed with promptness, but produced a somewhat different effect from the one anticipated. They immediately ran from their slender works as fast as their legs could carry them, and advanced directly to the hill, where they secreted themselves behind the trees, waiting our approach. When our front had advanced within a short distance of them, they commenced a fire from behind every tree, and at the same time gave the war whoop. Not all the infernals of the prince of darkness, could they have been let loose from the bottomless pit, would have borne any comparison to these demons of the forest.*

We were expressly ordered not to fire, until we had obtained permission from our officers, but to form a line of battle as soon as possible, and march forward. This we did in good order, and at the same time the Indians kept up an incessant fire upon us, from behind the trees; firing and retreating back to another tree, loading and firing again, still keeping up the war whoop. They continued this mode of warfare till we had driven them half way up the hill, when we were ordered to charge bayonets and rush on. No sooner said than done. We then, in our turn, gave our war whoop, in the American style, which completely silenced the unearthly voice of their stentorian throats. We drove them, at once, to the opposite side of the hill, when we were ordered to halt, as the Indians were out of sight and hearing. How many we killed I never could exactly ascertain, but some were killed, and one scalped to my knowledge,† and much blood was seen on their track. We also took two prisoners, one negro and a white man, said to be a Tory. The white man was found painted black, lying on his face, and pretending to be dead. As no blood was seen near him, after a proper discipline he was soon brought to his feelings. He was then stripped, and washed, and found to be white. A rope was then tied around his neck, and he was led in front of the troops, whilst every one gave him his sentence, "*You shall be hung to-morrow.*" This, however, was not put into execution.

We remained on the battle-ground till sunset, when we retreated to the plain, and encamped. We had twenty-two killed and a number wounded,

* The expedition moved from Tioga on the twenty-sixth of August, leaving behind it a great part of the baggage and two hundred and fifty men, with two six-pounders, under Colonel Shreve. Major LIVERMORE's and Lieutenant BARTON's *Journals;* MINER's *Wyoming*, 270. H. B. D.

† Although no enemy was found at Chemung, large fields of growing corn, beans, potatoes, and pumpkins were found and destroyed. H. B. D.

‡ See, also, Major LIVERMORE's and Lieutenant BARTON's *Journals;* General SULLIVAN's Despatch, August 30, 1779; MARSHALL's *Washington*, iv, 157; MINER's *Wyoming*, 271. H. B. D.

§ Since called Baldwin's Creek. *Life of Major Van Campen*, 146. H. B. D.

¶ Major LIVERMORE's and Lieutenant BARTON's *Journals.* Letter from Tioga, August 31, in *The Pennsylvania Packet* of September 7, 1779; General SULLIVAN's Despatch, August 30, 1779; *Civil War in America*, iii, 64; MARSHALL's *Washington*, iv, 156; MINER's *Wyoming*, 270. H. B. D.

‖ This movement was an important one. The command of General Poor included the New Hampshire and Massachusetts Regiments, and was supported by the entire Brigade of General Clinton, and was designed to flank the enemy's line and gain his rear. H. B. D.

** We think this is a mistake, since General Sullivan's Despatch of the thirtieth of August, 1779, clearly indicates that both Hand and Maxwell merely covered the Artillery without advancing against the enemy's line. H. B. D.

* We are clearly of the opinion that the Author has overrated the effects of this Artillery fire; and that the Indians abandoned their works, not because of Colonel Procter's operations, but to oppose the progress to their rear of General Poor. Such an experienced commander as Joseph Brant was, must have seen the vital importance of keeping an enemy from his rear; besides, we have the testimony, on the same subject, of Majors Livermore and Van Campen and Lieutenant Barton, as well as that of Brant's biographer, Colonel Stone. H. B. D.

† That the practice of *scalping* was not confined to the Indians is also proven by Lieutenant BARTON's *Journal*, August 29 and September 13; by the *Journal of an officer*, September 13; and in STONE's *Life of Brant*, ii, 21. H. B. D.

some mortally.* The next day, we buried our dead by the side of fallen trees, near our encampment, not raising their graves any higher than the surface of the earth. We then burnt brush over their graves, so that the Indians might not distinguish them from the places where we had built our customary fires. Here we lay by for two days, in which time we sent back our wounded and invalids to the garrison.†

On the first of September, orders were read to each Regiment, accompanied with the thanks of the commander, for their good conduct and bravery, and congratulating them on the victory they had just obtained. This was accompanied with the request that the troops might pursue the remainder of the expedition on half allowance. The Commander informed us that we had not more than half provision enough to complete the expedition; that we should go through a number of Indian towns, where we should always find a large supply of corn, beans, and squash, which would enable us to supply, in some measure, the deficiency. In addition to this, we were promised an ample remuneration by Congress. This was enough; every one was willing to give his consent to the proposal; every eye brightened and sparkled with vengeance. The question was then put to the soldiers in the following manner: Every soldier who was willing to go forward in the defence of his country, agreeable to the request of the commander, was requested to manifest it at a given signal. No sooner said than done. At the given word "*Recover arms*," every musket, with only one exception, among three thousand, obeyed the order. We then gave three cheers for General Sullivan, and prepared to march the next day.

The next morning, we struck our tents and paraded, in order to march.‡ Every Colonel again made proclamation to his Regiment, that every soldier, who thought he was unable to endure the expedition, might march four paces in front, and go back to the garrison. But a very few ventured to make themselves conspicuous as volunteers to return, and thus become the butt of ridicule to those who remained in the ranks.

Here permit me to mention the worthy conduct of Colonel Cilley, to whose Regiment the writer of this narrative belonged. He walked to the right of his Regiment, and as he passed on to the left, he very pleasantly spoke to several of his soldiers, and told them that whilst he applauded their courage and patriotism, he thought they were unable to endure the hardships they necessarily must, on so short an allowance. On passing near to the left wing, he said to quite a young lad, only in his fifteenth year, by the name of Richard Drout, "Richard, you must go back; "you cannot endure the march." The brave little fellow replied, "Colonel, I don't want to go "back; I can stand it, I know I can." On the Colonel's telling him that he was too young to endure the march, and that he had better go back, Richard began to weep most bitterly, and exclaimed, "Colonel, I am not tired a bit, and have not "been; and I know I can endure it as well as "any of them; besides, they will call me a cow-"ard, and I am not one." The Colonel assured him he should not be called a coward, and that he would severely flog any one who should venture to apply such an epithet to him. Richard, however, continued weeping most bitterly, and exclaimed, "I enlisted to serve my country. Do "let me go on." The Colonel, with a full heart, at length makes him this reply: "*Go, my lad, "and God go with you.*" He went, and endured the march as well as any one among us. The writer of this narrative had the satisfaction of seeing this same Richard Drout, and entertaining him, at his own house in Royalton, in 1818, as he and two of his sons were going to join our Northern army.

The horns* soon sounded; the signal to march. We laid our course for the small lakes. We presently came to a great swamp, where our march was much impeded by the mire. Here too we lost a number of our baggage horses.

Here was a small Indian village, deserted by all its inhabitants, except by one very aged female, who was entirely helpless. Our Indians attempted to talk with her, but she made signs that she could not understand them.

At length, an old Indian, who had spoken to her in several different dialects, drew his knife, and told her he would take her scalp, unless she consented to talk. This threat produced the de-

* The loss of our army in this action is very uncertain. This "History" says *twenty-two* were killed and a number wounded. Major Van Campen (*Page* 70,) says our loss was *seventy*. Major Livermore, (*Journal*, August 29,) that "but four or five" were killed and three officers and about "thirty others" were wounded; Lieutenant Barton (*Journal*, August 29,) that "two or three of ours were killed, and "thirty-four or five wounded"; Gordon (*History*, iii, 309,) that it was seven killed, and fourteen wounded; Marshall, (*Life of Washington*, iv, 158,) that it was "about thirty "men"; and General Sullivan, in his Despatch of the thirtieth of August, 1779, that it was *three* killed and thirty-nine wounded. H. B. D.

† See, also, Major Livermore's *Journal*, August 30; and Stone's *Brant*, ii, 22. H. B. D.

‡ We are inclined to think the author has fallen into an error in this statement.

The army evidently rested only *one* full day, since it moved to Newtown, (*Elmira*,) and destroyed that village, in which were "some good buildings of English construc-"tion,"—on the thirty-first of August: (Major Livermore's and Lieutenant Barton's *Journals*;) and on the first of September, was at "French Catharine's," now Havannah, at the head of Seneca Lake. (*Ibid.*; Stone's *Brant*, ii, 24.) It could not, therefore, have been on "the next morning," after "the first of September," when the tents were struck and the army paraded for the purpose of advancing from the battle-ground, which was a mile to the Eastward of where Elmira now is. H. B. D.

* Horns were used instead of drums; as the latter could not be used among the woods and underbrush.—The Author.

sired effect. She told them that the old Chiefs were for peace, but the young warriors would not listen to their counsels; and that all of them had gone to the big lakes. We remained here two nights and one day, in order to get our cattle and baggage horses through the swamp. At our departure, the General ordered a few pounds of beef boiled and left with this old mother of the red men.

Butler's army, at this time, kept only ahead of us sufficiently to be out of our reach, as we frequently came across their fires, where they had left boiling their kettles of succatash. Whenever we came near an Indian village, large parties were always sent to burn their huts and to destroy their corn. Our main army kept on the most direct route to a place called Big Tree, on the Genesee River. We encamped near the Geneva lake, in a very large apple orchard, to which place we gave the name of Appleton.* Here we caught several Indian horses, by driving them into the lake, when some of our most expert swimmers would catch them, and turn them to the shore. Here we found a white boy, of four years of age.

After we had destroyed their orchard, we marched on to Canandaigua lake. This lake we were obliged to ford at a small distance from its out-let; the water for a great distance being nearly to our shoulders. We carried our cartridge boxes on the top of our knapsacks to keep them out of the water. As there was only one place that was fordable, the principal part of the afternoon was spent in getting across. Both sides of the outlet were covered with an impenetrable thicket of underbrush, grapes, and thorn bushes, which made it impossible for our cattle and horses to pass through them. The First New Hampshire Regiment, being in the front of the right wing, was ordered to halt, and to see that our guns were well loaded and fresh primed, and also to keep our places in good order till all the rest of the troops, cattle, baggage horses, etc., had passed the ford way. This order occasioned considerable complaint, and not a few heavy curses on the one who gave it. Our Major, who happened to hear the murmuring of the soldiers, very pleasantly addressed them, assured them that they ought not to complain of their Commander's not giving them their priority in the line of march, "for," says he, "as sure as we pass "those bushes yonder," (pointing to the outlet of the lake,) "we shall be attacked by the In-"dians, and your General places the utmost con-"fidence on your bravery and skill." This declaration at once silenced all complaint, and "Hurra for General Sullivan!" resounded through the air. When they had all got across, we were ordered to march with a full expectation of a salute from the red men of the forest, accompanied with their war whoop and the contents of their rifles. In this, however, we were disappointed.

It was near sunset before we had all crossed the lake. General Sullivan then ordered General Hand to go with four Regiments of Infantry and take the town, about half a mile ahead. General Hand hesitated; stating that he would obey, but it appeared to him to be an useless waste of lives, as it would be dark before they could reach the town, and the advantage would all be on the side of the enemy. Colonel Cilley, who was then on his horse, straightened himself in his stirrups, and exclaimed, "General Sullivan, give me leave "and I will take the town, with my Regiment "alone." The General gave him permission, and we were on the march in a moment. Before we reached the town, it became so dark that we were obliged to take hold of our file-leader's frocks, and in this manner, grope our passage in an Indian foot-path. We found no worse enemy to encounter than the darkness, and a thousand musketoes to each man. The town was entirely deserted by its inhabitants. It was a place of considerable magnitude. The huts or wigwams were constructed of bark, and very narrow in proportion to their length, some being thirty or forty feet long, and not more than ten feet wide, generally with a bark floor, except in the centre, where was a place for the fire. Under one of these bark floors, one of our men found fourteen dollars, in silver. In this place, we found some considerable plunder, such as scalping knives, tomahawks, muskets, etc.*

We encamped in the town during the night. The next morning, Lieutenant Boyd requested permission to go out, with a small party of fifteen,† and one friendly Indian as a guide. They had not proceeded more than half a mile, before they were completely ambushed and surrounded. The Indian, who was with Boyd, called out to him, "*Fight or die. No quarter now.*" The gallant party defended themselves to the last extremity, but the Indians rushed in on every side, tomahawk in hand, and scalped all those who were not killed by their first fire. The Lieutenant and Sergeant‡ were bound. Among the party, was a stout, athletic, young man of about nineteen years,

* See, also, Major Livermore's and Lieutenant Barton's *Journals*, September 1 and 2; and Stone's *Brant*, ii, 24. H. B. D.

* Although no date is given, it is probable that the author refers, in this place, to Kanaghsa, which was destroyed on Monday, the thirteenth of September. (Major Livermore's and Lieutenant Barton's *Journals*, September 13; Stone's *Brant*, ii, 29.) H. B. D.

† We think this is an error. There is abundant testimony, as below, that this party was composed of *twenty-seven* men. H. B. D.

‡ Sergeant Parker. H. B. D.

by the name of McMurphy. Whilst an Indian was about to tie his hands behind him, he turned, took the Indian by the hair of his head, and threw him, with great force, on the ground, and immediately sprang from them, and ran, with the greatest speed, whilst the balls and hatchets were continually whistling by him. He finally arrived safe in camp.

Hearing the firing, we had sent out a party to assist them. When this party had arrived at the place of their engagement, there was nothing there to be seen, but the mangled bodies of twelve of Boyd's party.* Boyd, nor the Sergeant, could not be found.†

The next day, we pursued our route for the town of Big Tree. We arrived at this place on a Saturday, about sun-set.‡ Here we found the mangled bodies of Lieutenant Boyd and the Sergeant. We saw the place where they had been tied to a tree, and the bloody sticks with which they had been whipped. Their backs had been cut to the bone with their knives. They had been scalped, their tongues cut out and their eyes dug out, by these inhuman demons of cruelty. The Lieutenant's breast had been cut open, his heart taken out and placed in his right hand. Their bodies were committed to the grave, with martial honors.

Big Tree appeared to be the capital of the five tribes. Here was their large Grand Council House, built of peeled logs, two stories high, and the gable ends painted red with vermillion. The town contained one hundred and twenty-two houses and wigwams, and a larger supply of provisions was found in this place than in any other three towns through which we passed.*

It may now, perhaps, be proper to notice our manner of livelihood. Whilst marching in the wilderness, as before observed, we had only half our allowance of provisions, which was one half pound of flour, and one half pound fresh beef, or rather an apology for beef, as our cattle had become intolerably poor, in consequence of constant driving. When we came to an Indian town, we had neither meal nor flour, but only a trifle of salt. When we first came to the Indian towns, their corn was suitable to boil or roast; of course we had plenty of succatash. When the corn became too mature for this, we converted some old tin kettles, found in the Indian settlements, into large graters, and obliged every fourth man, not on guard, to sit up all night, and grate corn, which would make meal, something like hominy. This meal was mixed with boiled squash or pumpkin, when hot, and kneaded into cakes, and baked by the fire. This bread, coarse as it was, relished well among soldiers fatigued with their daily marches through the wilderness, and I very much doubt, whether one of them would have allowed George III. one morsel of it, to have saved him from the lock-jaw.

On Monday morning, we were all engaged in picking corn, and carrying it, in our blankets, into the Indian houses. We completed our task, about noon, when we struck our tents and marched a short distance to a rising piece of ground, in the rear of the town, where we made a halt. We then fired a small field piece, as a signal for a party who was sent for the purpose of setting fire to every house and cabin in the town, filled with ears of corn in the husk, at one and the same instant. The sight of so many buildings on fire, the massy clouds of black smoke, and the curling pillars of flame bursting through them, formed an awful and sublime spectacle.

Neither did it altogether escape our reflection what must be the inevitable consequence resulting from the destruction of all the sustenance of a multitude of natives. But when we reflected on the inhuman barbarities they had inflicted on our own people, the scalps that we had seen hanging around their wigwams, from the aged parent of grey hairs, down to the resistless infant at the breast, we could not but feel justified in the act, whilst we lamented the dreadful necessity that impelled us to it. We now retraced our steps back to the garrison on the Tioga Point, with as much dispatch as possible.

As before observed, we arrived at Big Tree on Saturday night. On Sunday, a white woman was

* Twenty-two were killed and left on the field. It is not improbable that the error has arisen in copying the "History," a modern production, from the original memorandum. H. B. D.

† This very brief statement of the capture of Lieutenant Boyd and his party, fails to convey to the reader a just idea of that sad event.

Boyd was sent forward, with a party of twenty-six men, to reconnoitre Little Beardstown, and had accomplished his purpose and was on his return to the main body when he fell into an ambush, as described in the text. He and the Sergeant were alone spared by Joseph Brant, who commanded the enemy, while *three* escaped and twenty-two were killed.

Boyd was spared by Brant because of his Masonic ties, sent forward to Little Beardstown, and well treated; but Butler, the Loyalist chief, during Brant's absence, subsequently butchered both him and Parker, because they would not divulge the information they possessed concerning the American army. It was the savage *white* Loyalist, not the half-civilized *Indian* warrior, who was the butcher in this instance.

The remains of Boyd and Parker were removed to Mount Hope Cemetery, Rochester, in August, 1842; and in a little volume describing the ceremonies on that occasion, and in the *Journals* of Major Livermore, Lieutenant Barton, and "an officer"—the latter cited by Judge Campbell,—the *Life of Major Van Campen;* the *Life of Mary Jemison, the White Woman;* and Stone's *Life of Joseph Brant*, the reader will find other and more important particulars. H. B. D.

‡ Major Van Campen says that Little Beardstown, where Boyd's and Parker's remains were found, was occupied by the American troops on *Tuesday*, the fourteenth of September. H. B. D.

* It is said that upwards of seven hundred acres of growing corn, besides vast quantities of other property, including more than a hundred and twenty houses, were destroyed at this place. H. B. D.

discovered coming towards our tents, leading by the hand a little boy, about four years old. Coming to our sentries, she enquired of them if they knew where the Rebel army was. The term "*Rebel*" was particularly offensive to the guard; but nevertheless, as she was a white woman, they asked her to explain, at the same time telling her that they were a part of General Sullivan's army, and that if she would escape with her life, she must not call them by the name of "rebel." She informed them that she had been a prisoner with the Indians about two years; that at the time she and her little son were taken prisoners, her husband was killed by the savages; and at the time we entered the town, the day before, the Indians were in such haste to get out of it, that she could not follow them, and finally lost herself in the woods; that when she saw our tents she did not know but it might be Butler's camp, and if it proved to be, she would tell them she had been lost in the woods; for if they discovered that she had made an attempt to escape, they would probably take her life. She was then shown to the General's Quarters, and well provided for.

During our march to the garrison, she and her child were provided with a horse. On the third day of our march, her child was taken extremely sick. To leave them behind was certain death, either by starvation, or by the merciless cruelty of the Indians, who would naturally hang at a small distance in our rear. The want of provisions began to be extremely felt, and our Commander felt it to be his duty to push on, with all possible speed, to our garrison. The sickness of the child, however, still continued, and in a short time it expired in its mother's arms. Here was presented a scene that would melt the hardest heart. The poor little sufferer was wrapped in an old blanket, and placed in a hole, dug with a sharpened stick, in the ground; then covered over, and a few pieces of old rotten timber thrown upon it, to prevent the wild beasts from devouring its body.

Our soldiers had faced the cannon's mouth; they had in that expedition seen their comrades shot down by their side, and in an instant, seen them gasping in the agonies of death; they had seen the mangled bodies of the brave Boyd and his gallant party; but the present scene called louder for their tears of sympathy, than aught they had witnessed before. A disconsolate widow, whose husband had fallen by savage brutality before her eyes, who for two long years had endured the hardships and privations of captivity, among a race of beings whose tender mercies are cruel, in company with her little son, *now* mourning over the rudely constructed grave of all she held dear on earth, was a scene before which the hardiest veteran forgot the soldier and assumed the man. No female friend stood near, to offer one word of consolation.

Pause for a moment, and reflect on her situation. Behold her and her husband, among the hardy adventurers of our frontier inhabitants, when after successfully encountering almost innumerable difficulties, they were about to realize the benefits of their activity and labor, about to raise the cup of plenty to their lips; when all in a moment is dashed away. Behold her husband, murdered and scalped before her eyes; her habitation wrapped in flames; she and her child bound, expecting every moment to share the same fate her husband had before. Hear the heart-rending screams of her little son; hear too the war whoop of those merciless fiends of cruelty, brandishing the scalping knife and tomahawk over her head. Think of the two long years of captivity she had suffered, and finally of her escape therefrom. Think of the time when Hope first began to brighten in her eye, and when she fondly cherished the pleasing expectation of once more seeing her surviving friends, with the only son of her murdered husband; and then form, if you can, an adequate conception of the nature and extent of a mother's grief, under such distressing circumstances.

We pursued our line of march much in the same order that we did in going out; sometimes encamping on the same ground. When we came to the place where we left the old mother of the red men, we found her there, but she had paid the debt of nature. The General ordered her to be buried. On returning through the swamp, our baggage horses had become so poor and weak, that we lost in this place more than a hundred, and it has been called, I suppose, *The valley of Horse heads*, to this day.*

When we left Tioga Point, we left the principal part of our clothing, by general order. We were not allowed any clothing besides that which we wore, with the exception of one spare shirt. Our clothing consisted of a short rifle frock, vest, tow trousers, shoes, stockings, and blanket. Marching nearly the whole time in the woods, among the thick underbrush, it may well be supposed that we had but little left of our clothing, on our return to the garrison. Our feet were many of them bare and bleeding. I shall ever remember my own situation at this period. Destitute of shoes, and almost destitute of pantaloons, we encamped one night on an open ground, covered with wild grass. In the morning, the ground was covered with frost. Going some forty or fifty rods for water to boil my half pound of beef,

* The town of Horseheads, Chemung County, New York, is the best record of this event which now exists. The village of Horseheads is no longer known by its historical name, but glories in the meaningless soubriquet of "Fair-"port." H. B. D.

Lieutenant Thomas Blake, of our Company, observed my situation, went to his portmanteau, took out a pair of shoes and a pair of pantaloons, and kindly presented them to me.

When we came within a few miles of the fort, an express was sent to the garrison for provision. We halted till the provision came, and with it a few kegs of whiskey. We remained here a day or two, to recruit our almost famished bodies, when we again struck our tents and paraded, ready to march, at the given signal. Immediately, we received orders to stack our arms, and every man to powder his head as white as the snow on the Alpine mountains. This order could not be complied with, as there was not an ounce of flour among the whole of us. The Commander, being informed of it, he sent, post haste, to the garrison for a horse load of flour. In the meantime, every man was ordered to shave his face, and to place an evergreen bough or bush on his hat. The flour having arrived, and being distributed, we immediately fell to whitening each other's sconces. No one could be exempt from this duty. Not a negro or mulatto could escape the honor of a white top to his neck; and of all the spectacles ever exhibited to the eyes of men, the sight of nearly three thousand men, in rags and tatters, nearly naked, with the remaining parts of their garments hanging in streamers behind them, must have afforded merriment even to the most grave and sanctimonious. When our officers came on to the ground, and beheld our truly ludicrous appearance, they could not suppress the loud laugh; and even our Chaplain forgot his gravity.

The signal being given, we were under way in a moment, and arrived at the garrison about four o'clock in the afternoon. We were received with a salute from the fort, and with three cheers from the garrison. Here we once more drew our full allowance of provision. The season was far advanced, and no time was to be lost in descending the river down to Wyoming. All our munitions of war were placed on board the boats, together with the greater part of the army. We soon reached Wyoming,* disembarked, and marched on to Easton.† Here we received the Report of the Committee, appointed by the General to estimate the quantity of corn we destroyed, belonging to the Indians. It was computed at one hundred and sixty-five thousand bushels.

Whilst here, we were ordered to attend Divine service, under arms, in a large meadow, to return thanks for the signal success of the Expedition, and the unparalleled health of the troops. A discourse was delivered by the Rev. Ira Evans, of New Hampshire.

We then proceeded in easy marches to our Winter quarters, in full expectation of receiving a full remuneration from Government, not only for our services, but also for our back rations. In this, however, we have always been disappointed.

The country is now surrounded on all sides with peace and plenty. No hostile foe invades our shores; no merciless savage thrusts himself into our quiet and peaceful dwellings, to rob us of our security and to butcher our defenceless families. The poor soldier, who spilled his blood in the service of his country, with Washington, Gates, or Sullivan, will soon follow his co-patriots to the grave, unrequited, and forgotten by that country he once "so faithfully loved and pro-"tected." In our turn, we have become the oppressors of the weak; and the defenceless Creek and Cherokee feel the full force of our insatiable avarice.

May God save our country from ruin; and may we, in the language of Mr. Clay, "Never despair "of the American Republic."

* On the thirtieth of September. H. B. D.
† Where they arrived on the fifteenth of October. H. B. D.

III.—PETER MINUIT, FIRST GOVERNOR OF NEW NETHERLANDS.

LETTER OF J. G. SARDEMANN, PASTOR AT WESEL, IN RHENISH PRUSSIA, TO FRIEDRICH KAPP IN NEW YORK.

(Communicated by MR. KAPP.)

WESEL, February 2, 1868.

DEAR SIR:

In the early part of last year I read your paper on PETER MINNEWIT, of Wesel, in Von Sybel's *Historiche Zeitschrift* [*Historical Magazine*]. Deeply interested in the history of my native city and in that of my Church, the Evangelical, my attention was drawn to that part of your History in which both appear as active participants in the great religious and political struggle of the Reformation, and in which we find so many interesting characters mentioned in the history of our own small city. Hence I welcomed with great joy your statements concerning a townsman, who, although he had occupied a prominent position among the "epigones" of our City, and although such memories cluster round his name, was yet entirely unknown to us.

At this moment the first volume of your history of German emigration to America lies before me, and I rejoice to peruse a book pervaded by a breath of fresh German feeling, bracing and invigorating, as the wind that blows over our Northern dykes. The publication of this book coinciding with the events which open a new future to Germany at home, is a great deed in our present epoch, for it will contribute to give to our people, which hitherto appeared like an Ahasuerus among the nations, the honor due to

it. May you see the germs of life, with which your book abounds, develop into flowers and fruits.

When I had perused your first paper on Peter Minnewit I commenced to search our Church Register for further information concerning him and his family. What I then found I published in last year's issue of the magazine edited by the Historical Society for the Duchy of Berg [*Zeitschrift des Bergischen Geschichts Vereins*]. Said Church Registers gave no further information regarding him. But within the last few days, when examining the City Records for the purpose of another historical investigation, I met with a few facts which I used as a basis for renewed search. I now beg leave to lay the result before you, hoping that the same may not prove uninteresting.

The Reformed Congregation (called the Evangelical since the Union of 1817.) owns to this day, besides a church formerly Lutheran, now likewise Evangelical, two other Churches, of which the one, that of SAINT WILLIBRORD, was the Parochial Church within the confines of the City; while the other, the MATHENA, is situated in the suburb. Both had separate church Registers, the Register of Marriages of the MATHENA beginning with the year 1564, and that of St. Willibrord in 1598. The Records of Baptisms for both Churches begin with the tenth of September, 1594. In November, 1628, it was first resolved to have the Registers of Deaths kept by the Sexton, [*Küster*] but this was not carried into execution for some time.

Now in the Register of Baptisms, on the Church of St. Willibrord we find, as baptized on the eighteenth of February, 1598. JAN [JOHN]. Son of Jan Minuit and Sara. In the List of marriages of the same Church, we find under the twentieth of May, 1607, entered as, "Proclamati: "Gerrit [*Gerhard*] Hasenkamp and Maria Min-"uit." I suppose there is no doubt that all the persons here named belonged to the same family; nor do I believe myself mistaken in assuming that Peter Minuit was a son of Jan and Sara his wife, since the family name of the mother as well as the rank and descent of the father, were very rarely stated in the Registers of those days. According to your report Peter Minuit, whose family name seems to be well established by these and other facts, was said to have been a Deacon of the Reformed church of this City, a matter which cannot be doubted, because the statement of Pastor Michaelius was most probably based upon testimonials from the Church, which in those stirring times again had taken the place of the "litteræ "commendatitive" of the ancient Churches, and without which none may be supposed to have left a Church, least of all one who had held a prominent office.

I undertook to search the Lists of Deacons of our Reformed Church, from 1590 till 1625, as well as the presbyterial minutes, in which the attestations or testimonials granted to such members as left for foreign parts, are almost in every case literally recorded. But this also had no result; in none of the documents of the old Church do we find the name of Peter Minuit mentioned.

In order to explain the true cause of this silence, I must retrace my steps, and give a short synopsis of the history of our City and congregation.

Wesel, the largest and most important city of the then Duchy of Cleve, occupied a more independent position in civil and ecclesiastical administration than almost all other towns, being in close communication with the neighboring Netherlands and of much commercial importance as an old "Hanse town." It had before that time felt the influence of the reformatory movement of the age. As early as 1516, the celebrated "Human-"ist," Buschius was called as Rector of the High school, and here wrote his *Vallum humanitatis;* but soon resumed his wanderings. To the same school, in 1523, was called as Conrector, Adolphus Klarenbach. He became the centre of a circle of friends united by common convictions and purposes, and mainly through his efforts the Reformation began to take deeper roots. But the reaction set in, nourished by the higher clergy and strengthened by influence with the Ducal Court; and soon Klarenbach was compelled to yield. In 1529, he visited a friend lately stationed near Wesel, and one of his former supporters, who had been thrown into prison, a certain Clopripius. The latter succeeded in making his escape; but Klarenbach fell into the hands of the Inquisition and suffered death at Cologne on the twenty-eighth of September, 1529, being burned at the stake. The fire he had kindled at Wesel, was however not extinguished but continued to spread. We had some share in the troubles caused by the Anabaptists at Münster, and here too they led to scenes of bloodshed; nevertheless the party favorable to Reformation grew in numbers and influence; a Protestant Minister from Seeland, named Ortzenius, was called as early as 1538, and at Easter, 1540, almost the entire population of the City, headed by the Council, partook of the Communion *sub utraque* [in both forms] thus virtually embracing Protestantism.

In the neighboring Netherlands, the waves of persecution rose higher and higher under the reign of Charles V; moreover, through the Treaty of Venloe the Duke of Cleve, who before influenced by the Humanist, Conrad Heresbach, and by the celebrated Erasmus, had not been disinclined to favor the Reformation, was again brought under the full power of the Emperor. Then the City took a bold step. A new High-school was

founded, and on the recommendation of Melanchthon, Nicolas Buscoducensis was appointed Rector of the school, and Superintendent of Churches. Their intention was to make Wesel, situated near the frontier of the Netherlands, a very, "home and hearth," for Evangelical life. The founding of the school was made known through the Netherlands; but Charles answered by a proclamation dated Bruxelles, in 1544. "In honden "de Verbot ende Condemnatie van de Unwersityt "ende schole van Wezele un op nieuwe op-"gericht in den lande van Cleve." [An Order forbidding, and condemning the University and School recently founded in Wesel in the land of Cleve.] In spite of all this the school kept flourishing, and the city dared to maintain a spiritual armory in the face of a powerful Prince and Emperor.

This bold deed had an unexpected effect. Walloons, (Netherlanders from the Southern Provinces, whose native language was the French) came as fugitives from persecution to Wesel, where they found a welcome and protection, and having settled, they established a Walloon or French Reformed Church. They were afterwards joined by fugitives from France proper. Francis Perucell, formerly a Franciscan monk in Paris, but more lately a zealous and energetic professor and minister of the Reformed Religion and a friend of Calvin, had led many Protestants from Picardy to England, where during the reign of Edward, the Gospel was allowed to be preached without restraint. After the death of Edward, Mary commenced the persecution of Protestants, and drove many out of the country, natives as well as foreigners. Thus in 1554, Perucell came to Wesel. He was soon followed by others, among them a number of English; and besides the Walloon, ere long an English Reformed Congregation was organized.

At Wesel was born Peregrin, son of Richard Berthie and Catherine Willoughby, widow of the Duke of Suffölk. Here lived Coverdale, Thomas Young, afterwards Archbishop of York, Scory, Bishop of Chichester; and John Rough, who, returning to England suffered the death of a martyr.

The Walloon or French Congregation remained in close connection with Calvin; and, later, they also exchanged letters with Beza, Hubert Lanquet, Icar Taffin, and continued to grow through the arrival of fugitives from the Southern Provinces of the Netherlands. Even more numerous became the congregation, formed by Netherlanders from the North, speaking the Dutch or Hollandish language.

When Alba held his infamous razzias in the Netherlands, and when Philip II. tried to wipe out Protestantism by "sword, fire and water" and to extinguish truth in the blood of its confessors, nearly one hundred thousand Netherlanders fled into the Duchy of Cleve, and the Dutch Church in Wesel increased to from three thousand to four thousand souls. But the Walloon or French Church, at that time guided by Carolus Niellius, the friend of Franciscus Junius and a man whose religious courage had been tried among the gallows and auto da fe's of Antwerp, kept also increasing. It was especially this last named city, which sent many fugitives, so much so that Wesel finally received the epithet of "Little Antwerp."

At that time my native city was the asylum of the persecuted Creed, and the home of religious freedom; the Gospel was preached within its walls in the German, Dutch, French and English languages; and the citizens braved all to retain the well deserved appellation, "*Ves-*"*alia hospitalis, hospitium esulum Dei.*"

Here was the centre of reformatory agitation; from here the pamphlets and tracts, so distasteful to Spain and Rome, were scattered over the neighboring countries. They were likened by the partisans of Popery to the unceasing thrusts of a needle. Here on the eleventh of November, 1568, the Delegates of all the Churches founded by fugitive Protestants from the Netherlands, the Churches beneath the Cross, met in convention, to unite and strengthen themselves through the bands of a common organization, the Presbyterian, and laid the foundation of that church polity, which to this day has proved a blessing to our Rhenish Church.

This first synod of Wesel, held in 1568, is a significant fact in church history; it will ever for the future bear good fruits and be commemorated at the tercentenary Jubilee of the Rhenish Church, which will be celebrated this year, and most probably in our own city and church.

The decided stand taken by Wesel at that time explains a doggerel then sung by its adversaries,

"Genf [*Geneva,*] Wesel and New Rochelle
"Are the Devil's other hell."

When the persecution in their native countries had ceased, many fugitive Netherlanders and Wallons left for home, and as a token of gratitude presented to the City two large tankards of gilt silver, on the covers of which was embossed the historical "geuse" with his beggar's staff and hat, besides a shield bearing this inscription. "*Dom-*"*ine, conserva Vesaliam inclytam, hospitium* "*tuorum,*" and the words of Christ, "*Hospes fui* "*et me collegistis,*" the body being adorned with emblems of hospitality, selected from Sacred History. These tankards were delivered on the twenty-fourth of February, 1538.

Still, many members of the Dutch as well as of the Walloon Church remained as citizens of Wesel. The former united, in course of time, with the German parochial Church, formed of

natives, but with the arrangement that the Church always had one clergyman preaching in the Dutch language, which was continued in force until 1830. The Walloon or French Church remained separate, receiving another addition after the repeal of the Edict of Nantes, and existed till the beginning of this century; but all members were natives of this city, and few have preserved their French names, most of them having been gradually Germanized. In the beginning of the present century, this Church also united with ours. Unfortunately, its old Records were badly kept, and but little remained useful for our investigation.

But it is time to return to Peter Minuit.

Peter Minuit had already been a Deacon at Wesel, as is attested by Pastor Michaelius. However, the carefully written Lists of Deacons of the Dutch and German Churches, from 1590 till 1626, do not contain his name; and as there is no reason for doubting said statement of Domine Michaelius, we can only surmise that he was a Deacon of the Walloon or French congregation, and belonged with his family to this Church, the records of which are, as stated above, mostly lost.

This supposition, that the Minuits belonged to the *French* Church, is not contradicted by the fact mentioned at a former place, that the Baptisms and Marriages of members of his family were recorded in the Register of the parochial Church of St. Willibrord, for it was at that time customary with the members of the Walloon or French Church to have their Baptisms and Marriages entered in the lists of the old parish Church.

That the Minuit family had been for a long time residing in Wesel, and, although originally of Walloon or French descent, had become more less Germanized, or "Batavized;" seems proved by their Dutch or German names, as Jan, Jacob, Maria, Peter; while other families had in this respect preserved their nationality. Thus we find the names of Jean, Jacques, Pierre, to a late date in the seventeenth century; and the Dutch, too, were for a long time unwilling to exchange their "Pitter," for the German "Peter," and it is thus found as the Christian name of PITTER MINUIT.

I must suppose, that the family had already become indigenous. The Hasencamp family, with which Maria Minuit was connected by marriage, had before that time been represented among the members of the Reformed Church, at Cleve, and bears a genuine German name, quite frequent to this day in the Rhinelands.

Now, the Church Registers having established only one point concerning the subject of this investigation, namely, that his name was "MINUIT," and that his family most probably belonged to the Walloon [French] Church, we find in the Archives of the City a few additional facts concerning him.

The city authorities were intrusted not only with the political and financial affairs of the city, but also with the administration of justice, with the sole exception of trials for capital crimes; and especially with the supervision of guardians and the decision of all tutelary cases. A Law in the in the old Wesel Code required, that wherever children under age had been left by a person deceased, the guardians should be selected from the next of kin, provided they were inhabitants of the country. Now we find in the *Minutes* of the nineteenth of October, 1616, the following entry: "Peter Minuit, Guardian of "the children of Gerret Hasencamp, from his "first marriage, has prayed, inasmuch as his co-"guardian, Fontein, had died, to join with him "another colleague in said guardianship, because "he had information that said Hasencamp had "sold a pasture in which he had owned one-half, "the balance belonging to his children, without "[*his, Minuit's,*] consent, to Werich von Bernsaw, "against which sale he now publicly protests." From this record it seems probable, that the Maria Minuit, who married Gerrit Hasencamp, was a sister of Peter Minuit; that she died early, leaving children; and that her husband then contracted another marriage.

In the *Minutes* of the fifth of March, 1619, we find the following entry. "Upon the applica-"cation of Henry Briels, a citizen of Emmerich, "and Guardian of the children of Samuel Fon-"tein, PETER MINUIT is appointed to him, "*pro contutore*, and has taken the oath as the "law requires."

I here remark, that Claes Gerritsen, mentioned in your history, appears as Procurator (*Attorney*) in a volume of Law Reports, which formerly belonged to the law library of the Magistrates and is now preserved in the Court of justice in this city. In said Reports it is stated that he was victorious in a law suit of his father-in-law, Claes Reinertz, *versus* John von Beck, of Horn. Claes Reinertz too seems to have been present at the trial. The name of Gerritsen is of frequent occurrence in the Lists of Members of the Dutch Church.

There is another mention of Peter Minuit made in the *Minutes of the Magistrates*, dated the fifteenth of April, 1625. It is there recorded, that he was no longer a resident of Wesel, but that *he had left for foreign countries;* even his wife had left Wesel; and was living at Cleve.

I find a letter of the Magistrates of Wesel to those of Cleve, with the following contents: "Derrich Lewen and Gerrit van Briel, the Guardian "and Co-guardian of the Children of Sam. Fontein, "apply to the Magistrates of Wesel and through "them to those of Cleve, to have Peter Minuit's wife "ordered to hand over all papers concerning the

"Guardianship of Sam. Fontein's children to "the present Guardians, inasmuch as Peter "Minuit, who hitherto acted as Guardian, had "*left for foreign Countries.*" Then in the *Minutes* of the twenty-fourth of March, 1626, it is again complained, that the wife of Peter Minuit had not yet handed over said papers. But from that date the matter ceases to be mentioned and no trace of it is left.

This is all I have been able to discover concerning Minuit, nor do I think that anything more can be found in the archives of our City.

From our researches it appears that

FIRST: The real name of the man was "MIN-"UIT" and not the Batavized, "MINNEWITT;" and that he was a descendant of a family resident in Wesel since the end of the sixteenth Century.

SECOND: That he most probably left Wesel about 1624, at a time (from 1614 till 1629, when it was occupied by the Spaniards) at which time the city had lost much of its former thrift, commerce, and social refinement, and was gradually growing poor, the Protestants having lost their Churches, and religious oppression and persecution making the empoverished condition of the people still more felt.

A letter written at that time in our city contains a passage giving a fitful description of the doings of the Spaniards in Wesel: "Ignoras "istam genten; Basilisco more vincino quæ cum-"que, etiam ærem vetus, tabo (?) conficere, econ-"tre, quæ Batavi tenent paullaten efflorescere." Who ever was able, would leave the city in which the great number of troops, quartered upon the inhabitants, had made the typhoid fever endemic to such a degree, that the Ducal Government at Cleve restrained for some time the people of the adjoining district from visiting it to find protection through the powerful, and well inclined government of the States-general.

THIRD: The families with whom Minuit was connected by relationship were prominent through their riches, as, for instance, the families of Hasencamp, Fontein, Huyghen. William Huyghen, whom you know to have been Minuit's brother-in-law, was already, in 1612, a Deacon of the Dutch Church, and I suppose that his sister was Minuit's wife.

If Peter Minuit was educated in the Gymnasium (*College*) at Wesel (which we may suppose, because his family was before that time residing in Wesel,) he had among his teachers Rector John Brant, an excellent pedagogue and an intimate friend of the geographer Mercator, with whom he had been living at Duisburg. Among Brant's pupils we find a number of men noted for high qualities of head and heart.

FOURTH: As a man endowed with such gifts, Minuit appears already in his capacity of guardian. Boldly he espoused the cause of the orphan children of his sister Maria against his own brother-in-law, Hasencamp, protesting against the sale of the pasture to Werrich von Bernsaw, who was the Lord of Bellinghoven and Bailiff at Bislich, Haffen, and Mehr, a nobleman of great powers, who in the records of the Court of the twentieth of April 1620, was styled: "The "noble and dread Lord."

This title given to the nobleman, however, only reflects the customs of that age, and does not prove that spirit of abject submissiveness which became so loathsome at a later period, the citizens being fully conscious of their standing and privileges. The intrepidity of the stout burghers in their dealings with the aristocracy, was well illustrated by Peter Minuit's defence of his wards against the "Noble and dread Lord."

FIFTH: Wesel being at that time almost a Dutch city, in which on account of the intercourse with the Netherlands (which was not only commercial but one indicating intimate personal relations) there was a necessity of a large number of officials; and I cannot resist the impression, that Minuit too held an office. His integrity can, the Fontein guardianship notwithstanding, in no way be questioned; and that it was not doubted may be proved by the hereditary caution which the Dutch Government ever showed in the selection of its officers. No spot in his character or reliability could have escaped their scrutiny, since Wesel and its authorities had ever been on the most intimate and friendly footing with the Dutch Government, with which there was a constant open or secret exchange of letters, even while the city was occupied by the Spaniards. * *

Respectfully, yours

SARDEMANN,

Pastor at Wesel.

IV.—THE SPEECH OF MR. JOHN CHECKLEY, UPON HIS TRYAL, AT BOSTON, IN NEW-ENGLAND, 1724.*

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

BY E. H. GILLETT.

Few pieces in ecclesiastical or theological controversy ever published in this country, are, in themselves and their results, so memorable, historically, as that which appeared in Boston in 1723, under the title of *A Short and Easie Method with the Deists, &c.* It was the reprint, with slight alterations, of the noted work by Charles Leslie, but at the close of this, which extended only to forty-one octavo pages, was introduced *A Discourse concerning Episcopacy*, which

* This is a careful reprint of the very rare tract published by J. Applebee, in London, in 1738, and contains the verdict of the Jury, Mr. Checkley's Plea in Arrest of Judgment, and the Sentence pronounced by the Court.

We are indebted to Mr. A. Lloyd, the antiquarian bookseller, 115 Nassau-street, New York, for the privilege of republishing it, and to our untiring friend, Rev. E. H. Gillett, D.D., of Harlem, N. Y., for the very carefully-prepared Introductory Note from his own pen, which precedes it. ED. HIST. MAG.

extended from the forty-first to the one hundred and twenty-seventh page, the whole closing with *The Epistle of Ignatius to the Trallians*.

The work was published at London, by J. Applebee; but was "sold by John Checkley, at the sign of the Crown and "Blue Gate, over-against the West-End of the Town-House "in Boston." John Checkley therefore might be considered the Boston Publisher; and the *Discourse Concerning Episcopacy* was drawn up by him, who was compelled doubtless to send to England to procure its printing.

Checkley was born in Boston, in 1680, but his parents were from England; and throughout his life he was most untiringly devoted to the interests of the English Church. His feelings, or perhaps we might say prejudices, were very strong, and he was as violent an Anti-Calvinist and Nonjuror, as he was Episcopalian. His education was well cared for. He was placed at an early age under the care of Ezekiel Cheever, and subsequently went to England, and finished his studies at the University of Oxford, although he seems never to have received a degree.

Abounding in wit and humor, he must have been a genial companion. After his return to this country, he fell in with one who was several years his junior, but in many respects was fully his equal; while on the leading theological questions of the day, the two young men held positions perfectly antagonistic.

Thomas Walter, the son of Nehemiah Walter, the Minister of Roxbury, was graduated at Harvard College, in 1713; and it was during his college course that John Checkley became his intimate associate. Fond of company, the learning and wit of Checkley attracted him; and he yielded to it, to the grief of his father, and in spite of the admonitions of his uncle, Cotton Mather, who warned him to beware of the man.

The intercourse between the two young men led to theological discussion, and at length to public disputation. Walter could appreciate learning and genius, but indolent as he might have been in study, he was strongly attached to the doctrines and order of the New England Churches. Checkley published in 1715, two years after Walter left college, and while he was probably studying theology with his father at Roxbury, *Choice Dialogues about Predestination*, in which he indulged his sarcasm at the expense of the Calvinistic doctrines of the New England churches. These dialogues Walter answered; and, in 1720, the "Answer by a "Stripling" was republished.

Walter's reply may have been the occasion of rekindling Checkley's zeal for more extended controversy. But just at this time, from a variety of causes which it is not necessary to detail, a very extended movement in behalf of Episcopacy took place both in Connecticut and Massachusetts. Hitherto the progress of the Episcopal Church in New England had been very unpromising. The violent wresting of one of the Congregational Churches of Boston from the hands of the congregation for the use of Episcopalians, which occurred just before the Revolution of 1688, had not been forgotten; and Episcopacy found but little sympathy or encouragement in Massachusetts. In 1716, Benjamin Colman, writing from Boston, says, "We have but one single "Congregation among us of the worship of the Church of "England, who are treated by us with all that Christian re- "spect and brotherly esteem and regard they can reasonably "expect and desire." (Colman's *Life*, 84.) Three or four years before, he had written to Doctor Kennett, Dean of Peterborough, explaining the local zeal for Episcopacy which prevailed in some of the towns: "There happen," he says, "a discontented person or two in the place; or some differ- "ence about placing a new house for Public Worship, or "about paying their little rate to the Ministry, or the like; "Immediately they are advised, or of their own mind they "propose to themselves, 'Let us send over to the Lord "'Bishop of London, or to the Honourable Society for Pro- "'pagating the Gospel, for a Minister of the Church of Eng- "'land.'" He then cites instances to illustrate the truth of his statements—as Braintree, the application in behalf of which, Rev. Mr. Miles of Boston refused to countenance—Newbury, where a number, dissatisfied about the location of the meeting-house, had gone off "only in a *Pett*, and to "save their rate"—and Jamaica, on Long Island, where "Mr. Hubbard and the people there, were unrighteously "dispossessed of the Church and Ministry House and "Lands."

But in Connecticut, the prospects of the Episcopal Church suddenly brightened. The reaction against the disorders of the ecclesiastical condition of the Churches while left to themselves and *ex-parte* Councils, had been signalized by the adoption of the Saybrook Platform, in 1708, and was evidently favorable to Episcopal enterprise. The donation of Bishop Berkeley to Yale College, and the perusal on the part of the students of the works of Episcopal divines procured by him for the library, were not without effect. The result was that eventually a very serious defection, helped forward by influences from New York Colony, with its Royal Governor, became imminent. In 1722, on the day following the Commencement, a paper was presented to the Clergy and others assembled in the College Library, signed by several prominent Clergymen in Connecticut, expressing doubts in regard to the validity of Presbyterian Ordination. A discussion ensued some weeks after, as the result of which some of the signers declared their scruples removed, while others did not hesitate to avow their full Episcopal Convictions.

The apprehensions excited by their defection from the faith and order of the New England Churches, extended not only to Massachusetts, but to Scotland. Wodrow wrote to Cotton Mather, on the eighteenth of March, 1723, "We were very much alarmed and grieved when, by the Lon- "don prints, we found eight or ten of the Ministers of New "England (as they were pleased to magnify the numbers) "were conformed to the Church of England. It pleases "me to hear that only the treacherous rector is gone to "England. Those offences and defections must be; and I "persuade myself Holy Providence has great end to accom- "plish by them. You'll please to continue your accounts of "these apostates."

The expectations of many were disappointed in the meagre results that followed the movement. "Most of "the few apostates," says Mather, "have reconciled them- "selves to their offended Churches." But for a time the apprehensions felt by the friends of New England Church-order were extreme. In 1723, Timothy Cutler, the former Rector of Yale College, returned from England, where he had been invested with holy orders—not alone as Wodrow supposed—and became the first Rector of the North, or Christ, Church in Boston. The corner stone of the house was laid by Rev. Mr. Myles on the fifteenth of April, and the edifice was opened for public worship on the twenty-ninth of December, 1723.

Two years had wrought a great change in the relative aspects of Congregationalism and Episcopacy in New England. The friends of the former were full of fears, while the latter were jubilant in their anticipations.

Perhaps there was neither in New England nor out of it, a more sagacious observer of the signs of the times than John Checkley. Probably at the very time when arrangements were making for laying the corner stone of the new Episcopal Church in Boston, his orders were being executed in England for a new edition of a work, entitled *A Modest Proof of the Order and Government settled by Christ and his Apostles in the Church*. He determined to circulate the edition in the interest of Episcopacy in this country.

By some, the *Modest Proof* has been ascribed to Checkley himself. (See Allen's *Biographical Dictionary*. Article J. Checkley.) It is possible indeed that it was really his production, but it is pretty evident that he or his friends ascribed it to a Scotchman, P. Barclay, who in 1713, published in London, his *Persuasion to the People of Scotland in order to remove their prejudice to the Book of Common Prayer, with answer to the dialogues between a Curate and a Countryman*.* Professor Wigglesworth, who wrote in reply to the *Modest Proof*, his *Sober Remarks on a work lately Reprinted at Boston, entitled* "A Modest Proof, "*etc.*," felt naturally some curiosity to know its origin. His Scotch correspondent, Wodrow, was unable to inform him. He could only say, "Mr. P. Barclay's *Persuasion*, as far "as I know, was not published in Scotland. We have many "of those people that publish their virulent pamphlets in "England and Ireland. Had it been going in Scotland "these twenty-five years, I imagine it would not altogether "have escaped me." (Woodrow *Correspondence*, iii, 183.)

Whether by Barclay, or by Checkley who published it, the *Modest Proof*, &c., provoked immediate controversy. Professor Wigglesworth was perhaps first in the field, but if so, Checkley's former associate and antagonist, Thomas Walter, was not far behind. In September (1723) he preached at the

* A Mr. Barclay had been laboring as an Episcopal Minister at Braintree in the early part of the century, and soon left. Regretful mention is made of his departure. Could this have been the P. Barclay, author of the book?

Lecture in Boston, on "The Scriptures the only Rule of "Faith and Practice"; and we shall not probably go far astray in identifying him with the *Son of Martin Mar Prelate*, who was one of those who came forward to meet and refute the *Modest Proof*.

Still other answers were forthcoming. "The great Jona- "than Dickinson," of Elizabethtown, New Jersey, appeared with *A Defence of Presbyterian Ordination; In Answer to a pamphlet entitled*, "A Modest Proof, *etc.*;" while to Thomas Foxcroft has been ascribed, *The Ruling and Ordaining Presbytery of Congregational Bishops or Presbyters; Being some Remarks on Mr. P. Barclay's* Persuasion, *lately distributed in New England*, By an Impartial Hand.

Both of these, as well as Thomas Walter's *Essay upon that Paradox—Infallibility may sometimes mistake*, were not published till 1724, and evidently drew some of their inspiration from the provocation offered in Checkley's next publication, issued in the same year [1723] with the *Modest Proof*, and only a few months, or possibly weeks after it. His republication of Leslie alone, although Leslie was a confirmed Non Juror, and really obnoxious on a civil account—would have probably produced no effect and hardly have commanded attention; but his Discourse concerning Episcopacy was a "Tract for the Times," and wa speculiarly adapted to affect scrupulous consciences as well as exasperate all whom it classified as *Dissenters*.

He begins with the assumption, based upon Leslie's treatise, that it was "absolutely necessary, that a lineal and un- "interrupted succession of the Ministers of Jesus Christ "should be preserved." Without this, Christianity would be stripped of an important part of its evidences. The late Mr. Pemberton, in his *Sermon at the Ordination of Joseph Sewall*, (published after his death,) is cited to sustain his positions. Christ received his Commission from the Father; the Apostles theirs from Christ, and the "succession "from the Apostles is preserved and derived only in the "Bishops."

The Presbyterian Argument for the parity of the Ministry is next taken up and historically examined. The Episcopal Succession in England is vindicated. The Cambridge Platform is cited to show that the New England Churches "al- "low Laymen to ordain;" so that their Ordination must be invalid, and "our Korahites of several sizes" are bidden to "take a view of the Heinousness of their Schism; and not "think their crime to be nothing because they have been "taught with their mother's milk, to have the utmost Ab- "horrence to the very name of Bishop: tho' they could not "tell why."

Church government is next argued from its necessity. The faultiness of rulers does not necessarily vacate their authority; and some of the foreign churches claimed that when they withdrew from Rome her ordination was still valid. The "Dissenters" also are reminded that they are few in number. The great mass of the Christian world is Episcopal. A citation of authorities in behalf of Episcopacy, for the period of four hundred and fifty years after Christ, is also presented, embracing the language of the Fathers and the decrees of Councils. Calvin, Beza, and "the rest of the learned Reformers of their part," are asserted to have given their testimony for Episcopacy "as "much as any." Indeed, "our modern Presbyterians," it is said, "have departed from Calvin, as well as from Luther, "in their abhorrence of Episcopacy; from all the Christian "world in all ages. Calvin would have anathematized all of "them, had he lived in our days." "Our Dissenters of all "denominations, imitate the hardness of the Jews, who "built the Sepulchres of those prophets, whom their fathers "slew; while at the same time, they adhered to and outdid "the wickedness of the r Fathers, in persecuting the Suc- "cessors of those prophets"

Checkley next argues in behalf of Episcopacy on the ground that no date of its original can be fixed short of the times of the Apostles. The change to Episcopacy would, he claims, have been noticed and recorded. Hence, the ordinations of Dissenters "in opposition to Episcopacy, are not "only *invalid*, but *Sacrilege*, and *Rebellion* against *Christ* "who did *institute* this *Society* and gave them their *Char- "ter*, and if their *Ordinations* are null, then their *Baptisms* "are so too, and all their *Ordinances*. They are out of the "*Visible Church*, and have no *Right* to any of the Pro- "mises in the *Gospel*, which are all made to the Church, "and to none other."

"Our misled Dissenters" are then told "that when they re- "ceive (what they call) the *Sacraments of Baptism* and "the *Lord's Supper* in their *Congregations*, they receive no "*Sacraments*, nor are their children baptized any more than "if a midwife had done it."

The argument against Episcopacy, drawn from the interchangeable use of the terms *Bishop* and *Presbyter*, is next considered. Checkley attempts to illustrate it by the use of the Roman word *Imperator*, sometimes rendered *General* and sometimes *Emperor*. He endeavors also to meet the objection that Episcopacy was gradually introduced. He then proceeds to apply his conclusions with a force and vehemence already foreshadowed in some of his preceding pages. He insists that "never was a cause so exposed, and "stripped so naked," as the cause of the Dissenters. He assumes that their Ordinations are usurpations, and their Sacraments impositions. By setting Episcopacy aside they revolt and rebel against Divine authority. He appeals to their fears, their scruples, their affections for their children, their regard for their own souls.

"What Compassion," he asks, [page 110,] "can they have "for their *tender infants*, to carry them to disputed *baptism*, "when they may have *that* which is *clear*, and *undisputed* "offered to them? will they present the *provocation* of "their *offerings*, and pawn their *souls* upon the greatest *un- "certainty*? Will they dare to say, that it is an *uncertain- "ty* at best, when they *will not* because they *cannot* answer "for themselves? Is not this to be *self-condemned*? To "put the *stumbling block of their iniquity before their "faces, and then come to enquire of the Lord*?

"This I should think were enough to rouse the *conscience* "of any *dissenter* that is not hardened to a sense. I'm "sure if I was a *dissenter*, it would prick me to the *heart*. "And till I could give an answer to what has been said in "these papers, I would never go to a *meeting*, lest I perish- "ed in their sin: I would not receive their *sacraments*, "lest I offered their *provocations:* and should think myself "*guilty* of the blood of my *child*, if I brought it to their "baptism: at least my own *blood* would lie upon my "HEAD, if I did it with a *doubting* mind, while I could "have that *baptism* which was *undisputed* to make my "*child* a *member* of the church. And how can he who has "thrust himself out of the *Church*, admit another to be a "*member* of it? Can I make another *free* of any *corpora- "tion* who am not free myself? No. If I am baptized by "a *schismatic*, I am baptized into this *schism*, and made a "*member* of it, and not of the *church* against which he is "in *rebellion* and open *defiance to it*. The children of "*Korah*, *Dathan* and *Abiram*, were swallowed up with "*them*. If we will *hazard* ourselves, let us have some *com- "passion* for our *innocent children!*

"The charge upon them is *very*, *very* heavy; I must con- "fess it *is exceeding heavy*, but it is as *true*, as it is *great*. I "know it will raise the *indignation* of many of them, and "I shall hear it from all hands. What! say they, would he "*un-church* us, and *annul* our *sacraments?*—would he "make the *ordinary ministrations* of our *ministers* as lit- "tle *valid*, and more *guilty*, than if performed by a *mid- "wife* in case of necessity? Where, where is the *modera- "tion* of this man? Where is his *charity?* He makes all "our meetings to be *assemblies* of *Korah*, in *rebellion* "against *God!* We are not able to bear it—we will not "bear it—It is not fit that such a man should live upon the "earth. All this I expect to hear. And now I desire them "to hear my defence. I hope they are not all provoked be- "yond the bounds of *reason*."

His anticipations indeed proved only too true, as he found to his cost. But he proceeds again in the following strain. [*Page* 120.] "Now I beseech the *Dissenters*, as they would "avoid the fierce *anger* of God, to look upon their own *sin*, "in the example given of it in *Korah*, and which St. *Jude* "says is an example to those who separate themselves in the "*Christian* church.

"Now let the *Dissenters* see if there be one circumstance "of difference betwixt their case and that of Korah? And "their pretences are the very same; even at this day, they "have not departed from the very *words* of *Korah*, for do "they not say to their *bishops*, *Ye take too much upon ye?* "And do they not give the same reason, the *holiness* of the "*people* who are Gon's *heritage*, and that the *bishops* do lift "up themselves and lord it over the *heritage* of *Christ?* "Are not these then their very words? And the same pre- "tences and the words of *Korah* against *Aaron?* and "have they not made it apparent, that their design was the "same with that of *Korah*, to seize upon the *priesthood* for "themselves? And have they not *lorded* it over the *people* "with *ten fold* the rigor that ever was shewed by the *bish-*

"*ope?* The little finger of *Presbytery* was thicker than the "loins of *Episcopacy!* [as I can fully, and will, make ap- "pear if it be deny'd.]" * * * * *

(*Page* 124.) "And who can appoint an *ambassador* but the "King who sends him? Who else can give him his *author-* "*rity?* How otherwise is the King obliged to ratify what "is *signed* by his *ambassadors* in his *name* pursuant to his "*instructions?* As it is *treason* for any *subject* to presume "to send an *ambassador* in the *name* of his *King*, it is real- "ly taking upon himself to be *King*. So it is the greatest "*blasphemy* for any *man* or *men* to take upon them to ap- "point *priests* for God, that is, in plain consequence, usurp- "ing the *prerogative* of *God*, and, as much as in our power, "to *dethrone* him and set up ourselves in his *place*.

"The *Apostles* call themselves *ambassadors* of Christ. "And now I speak not, (God forbid I should) of any of those "learned and truly pious gentlemen who are *teachers* either "here or in other parts of the world; but it is well "known and confessed by all who know anything of the "matter, that the Christian priesthood was never so shame- "fully debased, as it has been this hundred years last past, "since *Christianity* has been in the world. I say, the *Apos-* "*tles* called themselves *ambassadors* of *Christ*. And now, "every *Tag, Rag*, and *Long-tail* call themselves his *ambassa-* "*dors* too, by a *call* from the people! Good God, how has "the priesthood been vilified of late! Was it a *glory* to "*Christ* to be made a priest? and now from this vile *prosti-* "*tution* of it, it is come to be thought (among some men) "the meanest of *employments* and hardly befitting a *gentle-* "*man!*"

It was in this style that John Checkley saw fit to express himself at the very moment when the community was most intensely excited by fears and apprehensions of the spread of Episcopacy. His offence was really the insult which he offered to the religious convictions and long-established and warmly-cherished belief of his fellow-citizens. But it was not politic to persecute him for his High-Church views alone, or his attack upon the "Established order" in the country. He denied, indeed, that they were established, and arrogantly termed them Dissenters; and this position he adhered to, also, in his defence. But in the view of public opinion, this could only have aggravated the offence.

Doctor Colman probably reflected the common sentiment of the country on this subject when he said (*Life of Colman*, 138) in his letter to Bishop Kennett: "By our present Char- "ter, granted by King William and Queen Mary, our "Churches are here the *Legal Establishment*, and our Minis- "ters, both in respect of their Induction and Maintenance, "are the King's Ministers, as much as even the Church of "England Ministers are in any of the other Provinces. . . "But when I say that our Churches and Ministers here are "established by the King's Laws, I would pray your Lord- "ship not to understand me, in opposition to the Church of "England, for so they are not: but if any town will choose "a gentleman of the Church of England for their Pastor "or Rector, they are at their liberty, and he is their Min- "ister by the laws of our Province, as much as any Con- "gregational Minister among us is so. So far is our Estab- "lishment from excluding others from the common Rights "of Men and Christians, and I hope ever will remain so."

Checkley, of course, took a very different view of the case, and one which must have tempted many to wish that the question might be brought to a legal arbitrament. Moreover, the people of Massachusetts had never before had such a specimen of ecclesiastical defiance thrown at them. "Dis- "sent" was bearded in its own chosen domain; and the children of the Puritans were confronted with a High Churchism, worthy the palmiest days of Archbishop Laud.

But how could the offender be reached? It was impolitic to commence any action against him, simply for his religious or ecclesiastical views, even if that were possible. The Ministers who were ready to fall upon the *Modest Proof*, etc., as soon as it appeared, would not deign to notice the *Discourse Concerning Episcopacy*.

It is true that the Congregational Clergy paid no attention generally in a controversial way to the *Discourse on Episcopacy*, appended to Leslie's *Short Method*. They must have known that its virulent style would render it comparatively harmless, and that the Non-juror principles which it set forth, and especially its views on the subject of Baptism, were offensive to many Episcopalians. Indeed, the next year after the book was published, the Bishop of London wrote over to Miles, one of the Episcopal Clergymen in Boston, a letter which indicated his sympathies strongly enough to satisfy a man like Doctor Colman.* The Congregational Ministers may very reasonably have preferred, on other grounds than relieving themselves from controversy, to take no notice of Checkley's publication.

But among them there was one exception. Thomas Walter, Checkley's old friend and companion, as well as antagonist in controversy, now came into the field—em ittered somewhat perhaps—with his *Essay on that Paradox, Infallibility may sometimes Mistake, or a Reply to a Discourse concerning Episcopacy, said in a late Pamphlet to be beyond the Possibility of Reply*. To which is prefixed *Some Remarks upon said Pamphlet, Entitled* A Discourse shewing who is a True Pastor of the Church of Christ, as also *Remarks upon St. Ignatius' Epistle to the Trallians*. By a Son of Martin Mar Prelate.

In this duodecimo of one hundred and twenty pages, (1724) Walter goes far toward paying back Checkley in his own coin. He says, for instance, "*The Discourse of Episco-* "*pacy*, to which I am about to make a reply, is Lesly's, "which he wrote in answer to the Quakers." "This Sneak- "ing Plagiary, by foisting in a few of his crude notions, and "impudent railleries against our Clergy and Country, sup- "poses to secure to himself the honor (tho' I profess but a "very small one) of being the author of the whole book." (*Page* 26.)

The most plausible ground of Proceeding was to arraign Checkley for his Non Jurism, or at least to place this in the foreground, and make it a cover for the real offence. He would thus be deprived of sympathy from the friends of the English Government, or at least of the Royal family, and could entertain no hope of relief by appeal to the King or Parliament.

In Checkley's Speech which follows, the facts of the trial are brought to view. He was first arraigned before an inferior Court, but was allowed to bring his case to the higher Court and have a Jury trial. His own defence is able and ingenious, while it reveals a man who would not shrink from maintaining the most obnoxious positions. He was fined fifty pounds to the King, and required to enter into recognizance in the sum of one hundred pounds, with two sureties in the sum of fifty pounds each, for his good behavior for six months, and also pay costs of prosecution.

Three years after the close of his trial, he visited England (1727) with a view of obtaining Holy orders in the English Church. He was then forty-seven years old. But a letter, signed by two Congregational Ministers, John Barnard and Edward Holyoke, of Marblehead, was sent to Doctor Gibson, Bishop of London, stating that Checkley "was a bitter ene- "my to other denominations, a Non Juror, and that he had "not a liberal education." The Bishop read the letter to Governor Shute, then in England, who confirmed its statements, and in consequence, Checkley was refused ordination, and returned to this country still a layman.

On a second application, in 1739, Checkley was more successful. At the ripe age of fifty-nine years he was ordained by the Bishop of Exeter. He returned to this country, and was sent as a Missionary to Providence, Rhode Island. There he ministered, officiating at intervals, at Warwick and Attleborough, for fourteen years. He died on the fifteenth of February, 1753.

It may not be amiss to notice here the later results of Checkley's publication.

Nothing ever was published in New England probably, on the Episcopal side of the question, so exasperating as this volume. The circulation of it was revived ("secreily" says Wells) in Connecticut, in the heat of the controversy between Hobart and Wells on one side, and Wetmore, Beach, and Johnson on the other. But it proved somewhat unfortunate, by provoking Wells of Stamford, to publish (anonymously) a pamphlet, which for popular effect was doubtless more than an offset to any *Discourse on Episcopacy*, and

* Wells says, in page 19 of his *Real Advantages*, that the Bishop of London, on the third of September, 1724, about a year after Checkley's book was published and sold in Boston, wrote to the Rev. Mr. Miles concerning the dispute on the validity of Baptism by persons not episcopally ordained: "Considering the views with which this doctrine has been "lately advanced here by the Non-jurors, if any Missionary "shall renew this controversy, and advance the same, I shall "esteem him an enemy to the Church of England and the "Protestant Succession, and shall deal with him accord- "ingly."

which none would have relished better than "A Son of "Martin Mar Prelate."

Most of Wells's controversial writings are very decorous and unexceptionable. They have indeed been warmly commended by persons who did not sympathize with his side of the controversy. He did not hesitate to affix his name to *them*, nor did he forfeit respect by doing so. But he seems to have been provoked to retaliation by the circulation, at this stage of the controversy, of Checkley's book. He most effectively replied to it, by taking only the slightest notice of it; but presenting another phase of the matter in which he contends more as a humorist than as a logician, and in which, of course, he is never thrown off his guard by losing his temper.

The pamphlet of Noah Wells on the *Real Advantages of joining the Episcopal Church* (8vo. pp. 47, 1762,) was published anonymously, but for literary ability was worthy the reputation of the ablest writers of the day. It is composed in an ironical vein not unlike that of Swift's argument against abolishing Christianity, and administers, under the guise of a friendly anxiety for another, the sharpest rebukes of the Episcopal polity and practice in this country.

The Episcopal Church he represents as overshadowed by no repulsive, melancholy doctrines, or such teachings as are to be found in the writings of Doddridge, Stoddard, Willard, or Colman. The New York College which it had established, promised to be "a relief to polite young gentlemen who are "sick of the severities they are obliged to suffer at other Col-"leges." They will be able to get Degrees without overmuch application to their studies.

Moreover, if a man becomes a minister in New England, he must not only have professed "this mystical jargon of "Calvinism" himself, but he must diligently explain and warmly recommend "these ridiculous whims" to his people. Otherwise, he could not receive a license. To this it is essential that he should give "as our famous Mr. Rhind ex-"presses it," "a long senseless story of the manner of God's "dealing with the souls of the elect, etc."

Another advantage afforded is, that none need scruple subscription to Articles which have no determinate sense. He need not feel himself in the least hampered thereby. The gentle discipline of the Church is also a recommendation. It insists on no Puritanic Sunday. In its history is embodied the account of the *Book of Sports* enjoined to be read in the Churches by James I. and endorsed by his successor, Charles I. The Episcopal Church is not over scrupulous on such matters. It is engaged to its policy by its inveterate prejudice against Dissenters who murdered the "Royal Martyr." Hence among its adherents no grave melancholy airs are put on. "An inviolable regard to the 'Royal Martyr' teaches "us how to keep Sunday."

The disturbances occasioned by the Missionaries of the Episcopal Church in provoking controversies and divisions are explored by transparent plausibilities. The Church itself is commended by the fact that having a King at its head, makes it more polite and fashionable. A great many Deists are allured to it by this means, and make very good churchmen.

In another respect there is a great advantage in joining "the Church." The prayers are ready printed. Its members do not sit drowsily idle. They have a part to act. The historical character of the prayer, moreover, as that on occasion of the Gunpowder-plot, makes us who join in them better acquainted with history, and "more learned than the Dis-"senters." The fact also, that the prayer-book contains no forms for secret prayer is a great relief by which "our peo-"ple" are delivered from an irksome task. Bowing, moreover, is a considerable part of our religion, and of consequence renders us more expert at this genteel part of behaviour.

Those who officiate have no need to rack their invention in prayer. This is an excellent advantage for young gentlemen who "desire to be preachers, and are conscious to "themselves that they don't pray very often, and are but "little gifted that way." The prayers are so repeated that the time of service is well filled up, and the Sermon need not be more than fifteen minutes long, no small advantage to young clergymen who are not very well acquainted with the Scriptures, and are less studied in Divinity.

"The Church" too has "wonderful decent ceremonies." They tend to allure Papists far more than the bald worship of Presbyterians. Baptism by Sponsors provides that the rite may be performed in a polite genteel manner. Godfathers and Godmothers may be selected from the most respectable families, and thus gain greater respect for the ceremony. The sign of the cross also "waves devotion" over the whole ordinance. The kneeling, too, is a very reverent posture. The robes of the clergyman have the advantage of comeliness. "Can a man put on a black gown and not be sincerely "devout, or a white surplice and his hands not be clean and "his heart pure?"

Christmas also fills our hearts so full of joy and gratitude to Christ, whose birth we then celebrate, that "we drink "most cheerfully in remembrance of him, and spare neither "punch nor good Madeira."

The Music of the Church is greatly improved by organs which "charm the ear, ravish the heart, and carry the souls "of churchmen in raptures to heaven."

Nor does "the Church" impose any rigorous discipline, which is a thing exceedingly distasteful to fashionable gentlemen. The introduction of lay Chancellors to discharge offices for the Church conduces to light censures, while officers can become religious, as they ought to be, by the easy method of partaking of the Sacraments. A man who proposes to enter the Ministry may likewise secure a good temporal support by turning Missionary for "the Church." The Honorable Society who sustain him are honorable paymasters.* The poor Dissenting Ministers, if they get their full salary, must take it in paper, while he is paid in silver and gold, and is as much better off than they as gold is better than paper. Besides all this, he may get all he can out of his hearers, in addition to what the Society gives.

His task moreover is comparatively light. "A Missionary "who has bought a good stock of penny sermons, may fol-"low his diversions or practise physic, all the week, and yet "preach a tolerable sermon on Sunday. He is accountable "to the Society only for his conduct." (*Page* 40.)

Nor is this all. He has the chance to rise to preferment. The high dignities of the Church are open to him. "The "great Cardinal Wolsey was a butcher's son." Here, then, are preferments and benefices to fire the ambition of young clergymen of learning and parts.

The writer confesses that he has dwelt on these temporal advantages mainly, but it has been because the hinge of the whole controversy turns on them. In fact there are good grounds to believe that there are ten times as many converts made by them, as by all other arguments put together. Still he will make a few remarks on the advantages which the church offers for the world to come.

Churchmen as a class, he holds, are less affected than others with fears about future punishment. Presbyterians allow that all who are regenerated shall be saved, but the Church of England regenerates all her members by baptism, "wa-"ving over them the sign of the cross, by which they become "faithful disciples of the crucified Jesus."

There are troubles among the Dissenters also, from which Churchmen have no apprehension. In New Hampshire, the former have remodeled the Assembly's Catechism. At Boston a celebrated D.D.† at the head of a large party, boldly and openly ridicules the doctrines of the Catechism. In Connecticut, an Ordination Council proves that there is no ecclesiastical Constitution of the Colony.

"The Church of England," he says, with special reference to Hart and Todd, who defended the proceedings at Dana's Ordination, at Wallingford, "will no doubt return her hearty "thanks to those *sagacious* gentlemen who have taken so "much pains to discover, and point out to the world, the "*weakness* and *inconsistency* of this (Saybrook) Platform." He closes by intimating that if this letter should be serviceable and the one addressed should conform and take orders, he could give him further directions for the successful management of his mission, which would furnish materials for another long letter.

* There was more truth than irony in this statement. John Brainerd's salary as a Missionary to the Indians, where he was constantly called upon to relieve the needy, was only forty pounds; yet he remarks, in a letter published in England, in 1753, "Sundry of our Missionaries from the Society "for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts have sixty, "and some seventy, besides something very considerable from "their people; I believe near half as much more." Brainerd questions whether such expenditure was wise or in accordance with the intent of the founders and donors of the Society, supplying a plentiful and populous country like New England, and sinking "thousands of pounds annually only "to gratify *a few sticklers for a party*." *Life of John Brainerd*, 264.

† Rev. Dr. Mayhew is meant.

The Real Advantages, &c., evidently hit the mark at which its Author aimed. John Beach of Newtown, the former antagonist of the two Dickinsons, felt called upon to reply to it in *A Friendly Expostulation with all persons concerned in publishing a late Pamphlet entitled* The Real Advantages, &c. This was an octavo of forty-five pages, published at New York in 1763. It is quite a tame production by the side of Wells's pamphlet. The Author complains and laments, and seems disposed to assume the tone and bearing of one who is injured and wronged without having offered provocation.

The controversy seems to have closed with a publication from the pen of the Congregational Minister of Newtown, who was of course Beach's neighbor, as well as his successor there. Beach it seems had published subsequently to his *Friendly Expostulation*, &c., another pamphlet entitled *A Familiar Conference*, &c., and upon its appearance was issued *Remarks upon a late Pamphlet entitled* A Familiar Conference, *Published by the Rev. John Beach. In several Letters to a Friend.* By David Judson, Minister of the Gospel in Newtown. New Haven: 1765. Octavo, pp. 22.

In the preface to this, Judson speaks of the preceding Pamphlet by Beach, in which he complains of his course. But the main controversy now has degenerated into a discussion of Arminian questions, and faith and works. Indeed the interest of it was soon to be effectually superseded by the publications of the two respective champions of Presbyterian and Episcopal ordination, Dr. Charles Chauncy, of Boston, and Dr. Thomas Bradbury Chandler, of Elizabethtown, New Jersey. Their writings commanded indeed the attention of the whole country; and Checkley and his opponents were heard of no more.

HARLEM, N. Y. E. H. G.

THE

SPEECH

OF

Mr. JOHN CHECKLEY,

Upon his Tryal at *Boston* in

New England, &c.

May it please your Honours, and you,
Gentlemen of the Jury;

My Counsel having made so very good a Defence on my Behalf, the saying any thing for myself may seem needless and unnecessary.

And indeed it would be so, if the charge against me was not out of the common Road, and very extraordinary.

But (may it please your Honours) I am represented as a Person *Guilty on many Accounts: 1st*, For wickedly and maliciously imagining and contriving, by the Subtilty of Arguments, *to draw into Dispute* his present Majesty's Title to the Crown, *&c.* *2dly*, Of scandalizing the Ministers of the Gospel by *Law established* in this Province. *3dly*, I am charged with *falsifying* the holy Scriptures. *4thly*, With representing the Church of *Rome* as the *present Mother Church;* and *lastly*, with raising Divisions, Jealousies, and Animosities among his Majesty's *loving Subjects* of this Province.

These are Crimes of a very heinous Nature; and had they been as *fully prov'd* as they have been *strongly suggested* in the Indictment, I must acknowledge I should deserve a very severe Punishment.

Since then the charge against me is so *very extraordinary;* since *these Proceedings*, and the *Methods* of my Prosecution seem to be something NEW in this Country; and since I am so fully conscious of the Innocency of my Intentions, and that I had no Malice in my Heart: I believe your Honours will readily allow, that to be silent, at this Juncture, would look like an *Argument of Guilt*, and be *truly Criminal.*

With your Honours Permission, then, I shall go on, and will endeavour to take up no more Time, than to advert to such Things, not so fully insisted on by my Counsel, as will further shew the Innocency of my Intentions, and that I had no Malice in my Heart, nor designed any thing against the Government.

May it please your Honours,
and you, Gentlemen of the Jury;

The first Passage pretended to be against the Government is this, P. 63. "As the Necessity "of Government, and the general Commands in "Scripture of Obedience to Government, do re- "quire our Submission to the Government in be- "ing, where there is no Competition concerning "the Titles; that is, where no one claims a better "Right than the Possessor:" thereby (saith the Indictment) subtilly, by Arguments, to traduce and draw into Dispute the undoubted Right and Title of our said Lord the King, *&c.*

But this was not designed, nor can it possibly be wrested, to hurt the Title of his present Majesty; unless any Person will make it appear, that *another hath a better title to the Crown than his present Majesty;* which I am sure is not averred here, nor any thing like it. For the whole Sentence is no more than an hypothetic Proposition concerning Government in general (without any averment of any particular Government); and founded upon this Maxim of the Law, that *bare Possession is a good Title, till a better can be produced.*

But, (may it please your Honours) to shew you farther, that I had no evil Design against the Government, I beg Leave to remark, and to shew wherein I industriously alter'd the Phrase, to prevent any such Misapplication of it.

In the Book from whence this Passage is transcrib'd, the Words run thus; P. 36. "As the "Necessity of Government, and the general Com- "mands in Scripture of obedience to Govern- "ment, do require our Submission to the Gov- "ernment in being, where there is no Competition "concerning the Titles, or any that claims a better "Right than the Possessor."

Here I beg your Honours, and you Gentlemen of the Jury, to observe, that these expressions, *where there is no Competition concerning the Titles, or any that claims in better Right than the Possessor:* I say, these expressions in this Book, are not

explanatory one of the other, but are *disjunct;* and by the Assistance of a few, useful Innuendo's, this expression, *where there is no Competion concerning the Titles*, might have been so dress'd up, as to have looked like *something* against the present Government. For every body knows, that there is a Competition concerning the Title to the Crown of *England*.

But to prevent all Possibility of mistake concerning this Expression, and that it might not be *pressed* and *forced* to fight against the Government whether it would or not; in *this very Book* it is explained in such a manner as (seems to me) to make it almost impossible for any one but an Enemy to the present Government, so much as to think that these Words were designed against it.

For in *this Book*, these Words, *where there is no Competition concerning the Titles*, are immediately explained in this Manner: THAT IS, *where no one claims a better Right than the Possessor*.

And by the Words, *claims a better Right*, must mean, *justly claims a better Right*.

And indeed it is impossible to force it to have any other Meaning, if the preceeding and subsequent Matter, and the Design and Scope of the Argument be considered.

For it is an Argument with the Dissenters from the Church of *England*, in this Manner, viz. Episcopacy was instituted by Christ, for the standing and perpetual Government of his Church.

That Form of Government still exists in the Church of *England*.

Therefore, supposing that the present Bishops did not derive there power by an uninterrupted Succession from the Apostles, but were appointed by the King, or by some others not having Episcopal Power; yet since they govern according to that Form which Christ appointed, tho' they did not come regularly by it, they ought to be obeyed, until some other person shall come and make it appear *that they have a better Right to govern the Church, than those in actual possession*.

And the Reason for such Obedience is given, *viz.* That if it were not so, a Door would be opened to let in Anarchy and endless Confusion, if every bold Pretender to a Right should be hearkened to, and his BARE *Pretensions*, should be sufficient to alienate the Obedience of the People, from those in actual Possession.

This (may it please your Honours) is the Argument. Now nothing is more plain, than that every different Sect among the Dissenters, expressly affirm their own particular form of (what they call) Church Government to be of Christ's Institution, and claim a better Right to the Government of the Church than the Bishops, whom they call *Usurpers;* (particular Instances of which I am ready to produce; but shall wave it, believing it would be no pleasure to your Honours at this time, to hear with what scurrility some imprudent men have treated that venerable Order:) I say each differing Sect among the Dissenters claim a *better* Right than the Bishops; yet the Bishops and *they only* ought to be obeyed:

Why? Because none of these Dissenters have ever yet made it appear, *that their claim is* JUST.

May it please your Honours: This is the whole Design and Drift of the Argument; and I have been thus long upon it, to make it appear to your Honours, and to you Gentlemen of the Jury, that is impossible to cloath these Words, *claims a better* RIGHT; with any other meaning than JUSTLY claims *a better right;* for otherwise, the Argument would have no design, but would be glaring Nonsense, and Contradiction to the immediately preceeding and consequent Matter, and to the Scope and design of the whole Book.

I hope your Honours, and you, Gentlemen of the Jury, will not take more notice of an *Innuendo* an *Inference* or *Insinuation*, than of an *express Declaration*. And if there are any Words which seem to bear a doubtful Meaning, I hope your Honours will in all such cases incline to the most favorable Side.

May it please your Honours, it is a known Rule in the *Roman Law*, *In ambiguis orationibus maxime sententia spectanda est ejus qui eas protulisset*. Wherever Words are capable of a double Construction, there the Intention of the Speaker is chiefly to be looked after and attended too.

I have solemnly declared, that I industriously altered the phrase, and with *this very intention*, *viz.* to prevent any Misapplication of it, as if it was design'd against the Government.

Every Man hath a right to explain his own Intentions; and *obscure expressions* must not (I hope) have Meanings put upon them, contrary to *express Declarations*.

This is a Rule in all common and civil Cases between Man and Man; but in criminal Cases, there that Law exacts a stricter and a nicer Proof. Wherever the Life or Liberty of a Citizen is concern'd, there the Proofs ought to be *Luce meridiana clariora*, as evident as the Sun at Noonday.

But (may it please your Honours) what proofs have been produced, and in what Form have they appear'd?—Verily, in no very comely Form! For they are nothing but *bare* and *naked Innuendo's* and *Insinuations*.

May it please your Honours, I mention these Maxims of the *Roman* Law, only as they are agreeable to the common Sense and Understanding of Mankind, as Rules of Reason and Equity: and which (I would perswade myself) your Honours will always make the Rule of your Actions.

Since therefore, I affirm, that there is no person, who *JUSTLY claims a better Right* to the

Crown of *England* than his present Majesty, I hope your Honours will be of my opinion, that he who shall start at this Passage, and say, that it is against the present Government, looks like an Enemy to it; for, without an *Innuendo*, it plainly intimates, that he thinks some other person besides his present Majesty, JUSTLY *claims a better Title:* which is by no means asserted in this Passage, nor in any part of the Book; but the direct contrary.

Wherefore I have an humble confidence, that your Honours, and you Gentlemen of the Jury, will not think this passage sufficient *to make the Book a Libel*, nor *me guilty*.

The next (pretended) scandalous Clause is this, *pag.* 107. "Let then the Commonwealth-men and "the orators for the Power of the People, (if they "will argue fairly and upon the square with us) "set down the time when Monarchy did begin in "the World, and see if this Clew will not lead them "up to the Division of the Nations after the Flood, "which I am sure no man (who has seen that Ac-"count which Holy Scripture gives us of it) will "venture to say, was done by the People.

Thereby (saith the Indictment) meaning and insinuating, that the Title of our said Lord the King to the Crown was not good. Now to evince beyond all Contradiction, that these Expressions likewise, bear not the least Resemblance of any Reflection, upon His Majesty's Title to the Crown, I most humbly entreat your Honours to hear me patiently, while I represent the *true design* of this Argument, and the *impious Schemes* against which it militates.

First then: The Deists, (those Men who would turn the World, and even God and Nature, upside down!) these men foolishly dream of an independent State of Nature; *that is to say*, they affirm, that once upon a time (though they never yet could tell when) all Mankind were upon a Level, and that there was no such thing as Government in the world, and that *Tom*, *Dick*, and *Harry*, ay, every individual Man, Woman, and Child had a right to the whole World; therefore, since God had not instituted any Government, they, *the People*, all of 'em met together, and (to prevent the dire Confusion that might happen upon the bloody Scramble that was like to ensue) they erected Government.

This (may it please your Honours) is the Scheme of the Deists: And I am sure I need not tell you, that it is a direct Contradiction to the Holy Scriptures; and these Deists not believing one Word in those sacred pages, no wonder they talk so wildly.

It was the want of Revelation that made the ancient Sages grope so in the dark, and have such strange Notions concerning *the Origin of the World, of Mankind, and of Government.*

The Wisdom (even) of Aristotle could never give a Solution to this single Question, *Which was first*, the Hen or the Egg? If he said—*The Egg*—Then how came this *Egg here, unless some Hen laid it?*—If he said, *the Hen was first.*——Then *from whence came this Hen but from some Egg which must be before it?*

This was an inextricable difficulty *with Aristotle.* But a slender acquaintance with the first Chapter of *Genesis* would have informed him, that as God made the first Hen, from which all of the same species have been derived; so he likewise created the World and Mankind, and actually instituted *a particular Form of Government*, giving to one Man the Dominion over the World, and over all that he had created in it.

The *God of Order* did not create a number of People all at once, *without order and Government*, and then leave them to scramble for Property and Dominion, as some Deistical Republicans would have us believe contrary to the express Words of Scripture.

And to show that I do not abuse them, tho' I could bring a Multitude of Quotations from their own writings; (but that I may not take up too much of your Honours time) I shall only produce three lines from their *Veteran Mercenary*, their oracle, *Daniel de Foe*, who certainly knew his own Scheme,

> To be as free as Nature first made Man,
> E'er the base Laws of Servitude began,
> When wild in Woods the noble Savage ran.

This is their wild Notion of an *independent State of Nature.*

But the Vanity and Falsehood of this *brutal Scheme* is detected, as with a Sunbeam, from the Holy Scriptures, from the first of *Genesis*, and from the Book of *Job*, where we are told (according to one Translation) *That vain Man is puff'd up with Pride, and thinks himself free-born like a Wild Ass's Colt.*

These Men would have all Mankind such Savages. And they are fitly called Beasts, who range themselves in the natural State of Beasts, all independent, and no Government among them.

It is this *impious* and *Brutal Notion* which the Argument in this Book militates against and destroys.

Secondly, The Word PEOPLE is an indefinite Term, and the Republicans could never yet agree concerning its true meaning.

That great Man Mr. Locke expressly says, that the free Vote of every individual is absolutely necessary to the erecting of Government, and, at the same time, says *that it is impossible to be had.* And nothing is more certain than this, that no Country or Nation can be produced, where *every one of the People* hath a free Vote in the choice of their Rulers. And it is likewise certain, that at the very time when the *Democracy* was most in Vogue, in ancient *Greece* and *Rome*, all the com-

mon People had not a Vote at the Election of their Magistrates.

The *Athenian Rabble* did not chuse the *Demarchi*,——(Here the Chief Judge interrupted and said, the Court can't spend their Time in hearing you talk about the *Greeks* and *Romans*. It is nothing to your Case.)

May it please your Honour. By the Statutes of *Magna Charta* chap. 29. 5 *Edw.* III. chap. 9.—and 23 *Edw.* III. chap. 5. No man ought to be condemned without Answer. Coke's 4 *Instit.* 38. And my Lord *Coke* says in the same place, That the more high and absolute the Jurisdiction of the Court is, the more just and honourable it ought to be in the proceeding, and to give Example of Justice to inferior Courts.

I was not suffered to defend myself in the inferior Court; I beseech your Honours to let me make my Defence.

(The Chief-justice said, well go on).

I say then that the *Athenian Rabble* did not chuse the *Demarchi*;

The *Ephori* of *Sparta* were not chosen by the *Spartan Mob*;

Nor did all the *Roman Plebeians* chuse the *Roman Tribunes*.

This *wild* and *impracticable* (pretended) Power of the People, was never reduced to Practice by any Nation, or among any People, And it is only against this rude, confused notion, that the Argument in this book is levell'd.

Thus much for this licentious, unlimited, pretended Power of the People!

And as for the pretended *Independent State of Nature*, I'm sure that could have no Existence at the Time mentioned in the 10th of *Genesis*; when *Nimrod* (in prophane History called *Belus*) was King in *Babylon* and Asher built Nineveh the seat of the *Assyrian* Monarchs; both which are mentioned in that Chapter.

And from *Nimrod* we have the names of all the Monarchs, and their Succession, to the end of the *Assyrian* Monarchy.

And after that of the *Medes* and *Persians*, the *Greeks* and *Romans*; and from the Division of the *Roman* Empire, we have the Succession to the present Empire of *Germany* in the West, and the Sultan of *Constantinople* in the East.

And in all this Tract of Time, not the least crevice *to let in this* wild independent State.

These are publick Matters of Fact in which Mankind cannot be deceived. Therefore the Argument in this Book stands good and firm, and may still, with good Reason, demand of the Republicans, *at what Æra of time they will bring in their* Original State of Nature!

And I have the same humble assurance that I had before, that your Honours, and you Gentlemen of the Jury, will not think this demand, nor the Argument against the Power of the People, as I have explain'd it, any Reflection upon His present Majesty's Title, nor sufficient to make *me guilty*, nor *this Book a Libel*.

The next and last Passage pretended to be against the government is this, p. 108. "Was "there ever a Time in the World when all Mankind "(all but the Usurpers!) were all asleep?——

This Clause likewise hath nothing in it against the Government any more than the foregoing. And to demonstrate that it has not, I must humbly beg leave to represent, to your Honours and to the Gentlemen of the Jury, its *true* and *genuine meaning*. In the Process of which Representation, I shall be obliged, by the Nature of my Defence, to mention *the Asembly of Divines at Westminister*, and *other Great Men* among the Dissenters; but I shall do it with all due deference to their Characters; therefore I beseech your Honours to hear me patiently.

This Question, *What think ye*, my Friends? *Was there ever a time in the World when all Mankind* (all but the Usurpers) *were all asleep*, is only an *ironical Expostulation*, with those who affirm the Government of the Church by Bishops to be an *Usurpation*, and who (with Deists) deny *the uninterrupted Succession of the Gospel Ministry*.

The Book argues the Impossibility of such an Order of Men creeping into the Church all at once, and all the World over, without any Body's Notice or Knowledge! And the Book is further proving positively, that in fact, these Bishops have always been in the Church since its first Institution, and proves it by this Medium, *viz. The Testimony of an uninterrupted Succession of Gospel Ministers*.

And since it is part of the Charge against me, that I have ranked such with Deists who deny the Succession of the Priesthood; I shall, in the Prosecution of this part of my Defence, (to save time) answer both in one.

And in order to it I will (with your Honours leave) entreat the Assistance of those *Presbyterian Ministers*, the Compilers of *the Divine Right of Church Government*, approved by the *Westminster Assembly*, who, when it was objected against them by the *Independents*, after the first Edition of their Book, that by their Principles, an *uninterrupted Succession of ordained Persons was necessary*; which Succession they could not pretend to, unless they would justify the Antichristian Ordinations of the Church of *Rome*, &c., they added an Appendix to their Second Edition, wherein they considered the Objection, and returned an Answer to it under these two Heads, *1st*, That the Reformation was begun before the Council of *Trent*; and till the Council of *Trent* the Church of *Rome* was not so corrupted, as that her Ordinations were *null*. The Church of Rome

could as validly ordain as baptize, and who did ever question the validity of her Baptisms?

2*dly*, The English Clergy had not their Ordinations from Rome; Christianity was very early (*Anno* 63 or 64) in *Great Britain*, and Church Officers were then ordained, *and a Succession of valid Ordinations was always uninterruptedly continued.*

I must now (with your Honours Permission) seek for some Aid from *The Divine Right of the Gospel Ministry*, written, at least authorized, by *the Provincial Assembly of London*, published in the year 1654, which says, that *Church Power* is first seated in *Christ* the Head, and from him committed to the Apostles, and from them to *Church Officers;* and *they alone* who have received it from the *Apostles* can derive and transmit it to other Ministers. All Ordination by the People is NULL and VOID, as being not only not grounded on Scripture, but against Scripture.

And to intrude into the Ministerial Office without Ordination, is as the Sin of *Korah* and his Company.

The same *Provincial Assembly* have much more to this purpose, in their other Treatise, called, *The Divine Right of the Ministry of England*, from whence (that I may not tire your Honours) I shall quote but a few things.

Chap. 3. *pag.* 44. They say they think it no disparagement to their Ministry to say, they received it from *Christ* and *his Apostles*, and from the Primitive Churches, through the impure and corrupt Channel of the Church of *Rome*, "And, "*p.* 43. the receiving our Ordination from "*Christ* and *his Apostles*, and the *Primitive* "*Churches*, and so all along thro' the apostate "Church of *Rome*, is so far from nullifying our "Ministry, or disparaging of it, that it is a great "strengthening of it, when it shall appear to all "the World, that our Ministry is derived to us "from *Christ* and *his Apostles*, by Succession of "a Ministry continued in the Church for 1600 "years, and that we have a LINEAL SUCCESSION "*from the Apostles.*"

Thus far the *Westminister Assembly*. And were it not intruding too far upon your Honours Patience, I would keep company with my Indictment (*North about*) to that part of *Great Britain* called *Scotland*, and shew, that (even) the *General Assembly of Scotch Presbyterians*, held the absolute Necessity of an *uninterrupted Succession from the Apostles;* which I could abundantly prove; but shall wave it, and close this part of my Defence, with the Words of that Great and Learned Man, the late Mr. *Pemberton* in his Discourse of Ordination, p. 2. "It is not to be dis- "puted that Christ has appointed a *standing* "*Gospel Ministry* in his Church, to continue to "the Consummation of all things.

"It was not a temporary Constitution, but a "standing Ordinance, that there should be in all "Ages of the Church an Order of Men to repre- "sent his Person, publish his Laws, exhibit the "Promises, and administer Seals and Censures.

"*This seems evident to a Demonstration*, from "the Promise of Christ's Presence to be with his "Ministers to the end of the World. *Matth.* "xxviii. 20.

Thus far Mr. Pemberton. And I firmly believe that your Honours, and most of the *Presbyterian* and *Congregational* Ministers in this Country are of the same Opinion with this Great Man. Therefore I shall say no more upon this Head.

Believing that what I have offered, will fully convince your Honours, and you Gentlemen of the Jury, what is the true Meaning and Design of this Clause, *Was there ever a time in the World when all Mankind* (*all but the Usurpers!*) *were all asleep;* and that it was not spoken concerning Civil Government at all, and therefore impossible to be any Reflection upon his present Majesty's Title to the Crown of *England;* and at the same time demonstrate, *that the ranking of such Men who deny the* uninterrupted Succession *of the Priesthood under the Gospel, with Deists*, notwithstanding it is part of the Charge against me, *that yet it is no Crime;* even *your Honours*, the late Mr. *Pemberton*, the *General Assembly of Scotland*, and the Assembly *of Divines at Westminister*, being my Judges.

With your Honours permission, I shall now descend to another Part of the Charge against me, and of another Nature; *viz.* Of scandalizing the Ministers of the Gospel *by Law established* in this Province.

And I doubt not but that I shall fully clear myself from this part of the Charge likewise.

Wherefore in order to my Vindication, I shall endeavour succinctly to prove these three Propositions.

1*st.* That no Acts of Assembly in this Province, either *by Right*, could, or in fact, have established any way of Worship and Ministry whether *Presbyterian* or *Congregational;* so as to make THAT the Establishment, and the *Episcopal Churches* to be *Dissenters*.

2*dly*, That by a *just* and *true* Construction of the Laws of *this very Province*, the Church of *England* is *established* here.

3*dly*, That by the Laws of *England*, the *Church of England*, as established in *England*, and NO OTHER, is positively *established* in all his Majesty's Plantations.

I shall now endeavor to prove the first Part of the first proposition, *viz.* That no acts of this Province, *by Right*, could establish any way of Worship and Ministry, so as to make THAT *the Establishment*, and the *Episcopal Churches* to be *Dissenters*.

May it please your Honours. As the Books

say, a Law made against the Law of God is void; so the *Charter* to this Province from whence we derive our power to make Acts and Laws, reserves and expressly provides, *that no Act shall be made* repugnant *to the Laws of England*, which therefore, if made, would be *ipso facto* VOID.

If therefore I can prove, that the *Church of England* is by the Laws of *England established in the Plantations*, AND NO OTHER; then the establishing any OTHER, and making the *Church of England* to be *Dissenters*, is plainly *repugnant* to the Laws of *England*, and consequently inconsistent with and against our *Charter*, and therefore VOID.

As to the Second Part of the first Proposition.—*viz.*—That no Laws of this Province, *in fact*, have *established* any way of Worship and Ministry, so as to make THAT the *Establishment*, and the *Episcopal Churches* to be *Dissenters*.

May it please your Honours, and you Gentlemen of the Jury: Had these Acts (for Instance) confirmed the *Plat-form*, and *the Ministry pursuant to that*, then in Fact they had (or at least had attempted to have) *established* another Way and Ministry.

But these Laws make use only of general Terms, in relation to any way of Worship and Ministry, without ever mentioning either the *Presbyterian* or *Congregational* by Name; therefore I humbly conceive that neither of these can be the *Establishment*, to the Exclusion of the *Episcopal Churches*, and so as to make them the *Dissenters*.

I shall now endeavour to make good my Second Proposition, which is this, That by a *just* and *true* Construction of the Laws *of this very Province*, the *Church of England* is *established* here.

And in order to it, I must ask leave of your Honours to premise a few things:——

1*st*. That where the Acts of Assembly make use of any Words, and do not explain what they mean by them, I humbly conceive, that such Words shall be construed according to the Laws of *England*.

As for Instance, the word *Libel* and *Defamation* in the Act about Criminals. The word *Fee Simple* in the Act for Distribution of Inheritances, *&c.*

2*dly*, Where two Expositions may be of an Act, and the one is *agreeable* to the Laws of *England*, and the other *contrariant* or *repugnant* to them, I most humbly believe, that your Honours will take it in the first sense, and not in the latter.

Now without reciting all the Laws relating to Public Worship and Ministry, which would take up too much time, though I have them all ready, if your Honours shall think it necessary, I believe it will be sufficient to remark, that the acts of Assembly make use ONLY of *indefinite Expressions* and *general Terms*.

For Example, in the 4*th* and 5*th* of *William* and *Mary*, the Act makes mention of *a gathered Church*, and provides, that the Minister shall be chosen *according to the Direction given in the Word of God;* and the Laws likewise ordain that each Town shall have an *Orthodox* Minister, or Ministers.

But these Acts no where explain what *those Directions in the Word of God are*, nor what is meant by an Orthodox Minister.

So that, I humbly conceive, Recourse must be had to the Laws of *England*, as is usual in like cases, to know the *true* and *undisguised* meaning of these *general Terms* and *indefinite Expressions*.

And I am sure I need not inform your Honours what the Laws of *England* mean by the Words *Church* and *Orthodox Minister*.

But that the Gentlemen of the Jury (who can't be supposed to be so well acquainted with the Laws of *England*) may know what they mean, I most humbly entreat your Honours patience, while I recite Part of the 13*th* of *Eliz.* Chapter 12. which was designed to settle *Orthodoxy*, and declares who shall be deemed *Orthodox* Ministers.

The Act runs thus,

"That the Churches of the Queen's Majesty's "Dominions may be served with Pastors of sound "Religion: Be it enacted by the Authority of "the present Parliament, That every Person un- "der the Degree of a Bishop, which doth or shall "pretend to be a Priest, or Minister of God's "Holy Word and Sacraments, by reason of any "other Form of Institution, Consecration or Or- "dering, than the Form set forth by Parliament, "in the Time of the late King of most worthy "Memory, King *Edward* VI. or now used in the "Reign of our most gracious Sovereign Lady, "shall in the Presence of the Bishop, *&c.*, de- "clare his assent, and subscribe to all the Articles "of Religion, comprized in a Book Imprinted, "Entituled, Articles, whereupon it was agreed, "*&c.*

These (May it please your Honours) are the Articles of the Church of *England;* And "(says "my Lord Chief Justice *Coke*) the subscription "hereby required is to three Articles.

"*The* 1*st is*, That the King's Majesty, under "God, is the only supream Governor of the "Realm, and all other his Highness's Dominions "and Countries.

"2*dly*. That the Book of the Common-Prayer, "and of Ordering of Bishops, Priests and Dea- "cons, containeth nothing in it contrary to the "Word of God, *&c.*

"3*dly*, That he alloweth of the said XXXIX "Articles of Religion, and acknowledgeth them "to be agreeable to the Word of God.

After reciting these three Articles, my Lord *Coke* goes on,—And I heard *Wray*, Chief Justice

"on the King's Bench *Pasch.* 23d of *Eliz.* re-
"port; That where one *Smith* subscribed to the
"said XXXIX Articles of Religion, with this
"Addition, (*So far forth as the same were agree-
"able to the Word of God*) that it was resolved
"by him, and all the Judges of *England*, that
"the Subscription was not according to the Sta-
"tute of the 13th of *Eliz.* because the Statute re-
"quires an absolute Subscription, and this Sub-
"scription made it conditional; and that this
"Act was made for avoiding Diversity of Opini-
"ons, &c., and by this Addition the Party might,
"by his own private Opinion, take some of them
"to be against the Word of God; and by this
"means Diversity of Opinions should not be
"avoided, which was the Scope of the Statute;
"and the very Act itself, made touching Sub-
"scriptions, hereby of none effect. *Coke* 4. *Inst.*
"324.

Now (may it please your Honours) if a Person (though episcopally ordained) who refuses to give his Assent and Consent to these three Articles absolutely, and without any Condition or Reservation, shall not, by all the Judges of *England*, be deemed *Orthodox*, or of *Sound Religion*; (which is one and the same thing) much less (in my humble opinion) shall a *Dissenting Teacher*, who absolutely condemns Subscription, and imagines that those who impose it, have not *right Opinions of Religion*, or are not *of Sound Religion*, or *Orthodox*: I say, such a person (certainly) by the Laws of *England*, will not be allowed to be of *Sound Religion* or *Orthodox!*

Who likewise, in the Eye of the Law of *England*, is *mere laicus*, not in Holy Orders, but a *mere Lay-Man*.

Since then the Laws of *England* allow no Minister to be *Orthodox*, but he who is *Episcopally Ordained*, and who subscribes the abovesaid three Articles, which is *a Minister of the Church of* England.

And inasmuch as by the Acts of Assembly of this Province, an *Orthodox* Ministry is *established* in every Town;

Therefore, by a *just* and *true* Construction of the Laws of *this very Province* (unless they are repugnant to the Laws of *England*) *the Ministers of the Church of England are* established HERE.

I beg leave to remark under this head, that our present Governour Col. *Shute*, in his Order to the Magistrates of *Bristol*, &c., wherein he prohibits their taxing the *Churchmen* towards the maintenance of any other Ministers of any other profession than *Episcopal*, calls *the Church of England* the *established Church* here.

And the late Governour, Col. *Dudley*, (by wise Men deservedly acknowledged the wisest Man that ever was in this Country,) in a like Order, in Favor of the Church at *Newbury*, declares *the Church of England* to be the *established Church*; and speaking of their Proceedings for settling a Church there, says, that they are *according to Law*, and that they ought to be suffered to go peaceably on for their good *Establishment*.

May it please your Honours;

The Opinion of this great and wise Man, was founded upon his exact knowledge of the Laws of *England*; some of which (by your Honours permission) I shall now produce, in order to make good my third Proposition; *viz.*

That by the Laws of *England*, the Church of *England*, *as established in England*, and NO OTHER is positively *established* in all His Majesty's Plantations.

May it please your Honours, and you
Gentlemen of the Jury;

The Common Law, and especially *Magna Charta*, is allowed to be the Law of the Plantations, and every *Englishman's* Birth-Right. And by that, the *Holy Church*, i. e. *the Church of* England, *is for ever inviolably confirmed.*

The Church reformed, and confirmed, and *established* by the 2d, 3d, 5th, 6th, of *Edw.* VI. mentions *England*, *Wales*, *Calais*, and the Marches thereof, and *other the King's Dominions*, and says, the Inhabitants of this Realm, and *other his Majesty's Dominions.*

This was repeal'd by the 1*st* of *Mary*; but the 1*st* of *Elizabeth* took off that Repeal; and mentions again the Realm of *England*, *Wales*, or Marches of the same, and (or) *other the Queen's Dominions*; — and in the conclusion expressly *inhibits any other to be establish'd* within the Realm, or any *other the Queen's Dominions or Countries.*

The 13th of *Eliz.* which declares who are *Orthodox* Ministers, entitled an Act for the Ministers of the Church to be of *sound Religion*,—and provides, That the Churches of the *Queen's Majesty's Dominions* may be served with *sound Ministers*, &c.—qualified as in the Act.

Now, (may it please your Honours) I humbly conceive that by *King's Dominions* must be meant not only the THEN Dominions, but what shall be the King's Dominions at all times, *while that Law remains in force.*

As (for Instance) Acts of Trade that extend to the Plantations, *bind* new *or* acquired *places, added to the King's Dominions, after such Acts were made.*

And the 12th of *Charles* II. which was made *after* the settlement of these Colonies, confirms those *former* Acts, that mention the King's or Queen's *Dominions or Countries.*

But above all, the 5th of Q. *Anne*, entituled, *An Act for securing the Church of* England, *as by Law establish'd*, reinforces and confirms the 13th of *Eliz.* and the 12th of *Charles* II.—and provides, That the King shall swear to maintain the

said Settlement, (*i. e.* by the said Acts, which acts comprehend *the King's Dominions or Countries*) of the Church of *England*, and the Government thereof, *as by Law establish'd* within the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, Dominion of *Wales*, and Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, and the *Territories thereunto belonging*.

And immediately declares, that this Act shall be held a fundamental and essential Part of any Union between the two Kingdoms.

May it please your Honours;

By all the foregoing Acts, and by this Act in particular, it appears, that the Church of *England as establish'd in England* and no OTHER, is *establish'd* in all his Majesty's Plantations.

And by the same Act it appears, that to establish any OTHER would be a Breach of the Union between the two Kingdoms.

Therefore I humbly hope, that neither your Honours, nor you Gentlemen of the Jury, will look upon this Book, as written to the Scandal *of the Ministers of the Gospel, established by Law*, in this Province;——for it is a defence of THEM and their SACRED CHARACTER.

May it please your Honours;

I have a great deal more to say in my Defence; but perceiving that so much Time is already lapsed, I shall omit it, only begging leave to say some few Things to the Jury.

Gentlemen, I would have you seriously consider what you are about.

Remember that the Book indicted is, *The Short and Easy Method with the* DEISTS, an NO *other*; a Book wrote in Defence of *Christianity*, in Defence of our Holy Faith, against the *blaspheming Deists*.

And tho' there are some Passages in the Indictment, which are spoken of the *Congregational* and *Presbyterian* Ministers in this Country; yet I would have you consider, that *these Passages* are not in the *Book indicted*, but in *another*.

But granting that they were there, I beseech you, gentlemen, to reflect with yourselves, whether *those Gentle methods* of reasoning and perswading and *those tender* and *compassionate Expostulations* with those Gentlemen, to make them seriously consider with themselves, of the Validity of that Commission by which they act:—I say, reflect (Gentlemen) whether this looks like Malice, and whether it should bring upon me such a severe Prosecution, and is sufficient *to demonstrate me a Criminal*.

I would have you consider that I have suffered very much already on account of my Religion.

May it please your Honours;

I shall now conclude, only beg leave to render Thanks for the Liberty granted to me (*which was deny'd me at the Sessions*) of making so particular a Defence; and if in the Prosecution of it I have said any thing ungrateful to your Honours, I am sure you will forgive me when you consider, that the nature of the Charge against me obliged me to such a manner of Defence.

Wherefore, without any further Apology, I shall submit it to your Honours, and to you Gentlemen of the Jury, with all *that* Humility that becomes a Christian. Hoping, nay, being well assured, that you will not find *me guilty*, nor *this Book a Libel*.

The Jury's Verdict.

John Checkley adsect' Dom. Reg.

The *Jury find specially*; viz. *If the Book entituled*, A Short and Easy Method with the DEISTS, *containing in it a Discourse concerning Episcopacy*, (*published and many of them sold by the said* Checkley) be *a false and scandalous Libel; then we find the said* Checkley *guilty of all and every part of the Indictment* (*excepting that supposed to traduce and draw into dispute the undoubted Right and Title of our Sovereign Lord King* George *to the Kingdoms of* Great-Britain *and* Ireland, *and the Territories thereto belonging*) *—But if the said Book, containing a Discourse concerning Episcopacy as aforesaid, be not a false and scandalous Libel; Then we find him not guilty.*

Att. Samuel Tyley, Clerc.

The Plea in Arrest of Judgment.

℣ *May it please your Honours,*

Notwithstanding that I have been heard so fully by my Counsel, in Arrest of Judgment; I must yet beg leave of your Honours, to say something further myself on the same Plea, *Why Judgment ought to be Arrested.*

May it please your Honours;

Upon my Trial at the Sessions, it was often declar'd from the Bench, that they would not have me suppose, that I was to be tried for writing any Thing in the Defence of the *Church of England* and of *Episcopacy*, against the *Presbyterian* or *Congregational* Ministers in this Country:—NO, *by no means!* for *the ministers were able to defend themselves.*

And to demonstrate to your Honours, that their Worships designed to amend the Indictment in that Particular, they ordered the Attorney-General to insist upon *those three clauses only* (pretended to be) against the Government.

The Jury found me guilty of *imagining and contriving, by the Subtility of Arguments, to traduce the Title of his present Majesty.*

(For it cannot be supposed, that they found me guilty of *any thing* else, since *that* and *that only*, by order of the Worshipful Bench, was *all the Charge against me.*)

And an heavy Judgment was thereupon given.

From which Judgment I appealed to this Honourable Court; and after a full and fair Hearing, have been *acquitted absolutely* by a Verdict of Twelve Men, from being guilty of traducing *and drawing into dispute the undoubted Right and Title of our Sovereign Lord King* George, *to the Kingdoms of* Great-Britain *and* Ireland, *and the Territories thereto belong.*

This was the Charge against me, and of this and *this only*, was I found guilty in the *Lower Court.*

But the Verdict of the Jury in this *Honourable Court*, is an *absolute* Reversion of the Jury's Verdict before the *Sessions.*

Wherefore I humbly hope, that this alone (if there were nothing else) will be thought sufficient why Judgment should not be given against me.

For, with all due Submission, I cannot yet believe, that your Honours, in your superour Wisdom, will ever give the least Occasion for the World to say, that the very formal Reason of my Condemnation was my publishing a Book entituled "A Short and Easy Method with the "Deists, wherein the Certainty of the Christian "Religion is demonstrated by infalliable proof "from four Rules, which are incompatible to any "Imposture that ever yet has been, or can possi-"bly be.

To which was added another in Defence of the sacred and venerable Order of Bishops, and in Defence of the Church of *England*, in whose *salutary* Communion (by the Grace of God) *I purpose to live and die.*

Nor can I possibly imagine, that this Honourable Court will give the least Umbrage to People for their supposing that your Honours think the Justices at the Sessions, did not put my Trial upon a right Footing; or that their Worships spoke unadvisedly, when they said, *The Ministers can defend themselves.*

There are likewise other Things, which, in my humble Opinion, are worthy of the Notice of this Honourable Court, before Judgment is given against me.

The Jury have brought in a special Verdict, and have not declared the Book a Libel, that being left with your Honours, whether you will adjudge it so or not.

And that the Book may not be condemned as a Libel, I humbly beg leave to remark these few Things for your Honours consideration.

It is a ruled case in my Lord *Coke's* 4 *Instit.* 235. *b.* That if one shall say of a Merchant, That he is a Bankrupt, or would be a Bankrupt within two Days; the Words contain *Matter of a Libel*, and are *actionable.*——But I humbly conceive, that if the Merchant, of whom the Words were spoken, was actually declared a Bankrupt by the Laws of the Land, at the Time when the Words were spoken; the Words would not contain in them the *Matter of a Libel* respecting that Man, and consequently not *actionable.*

The Use I would make of it is this.

The Book, now under the Consideration of the Honourable Bench, contains in it Arguments for Episcopacy, all of them laid down, from the Beginning to the End, in a Hypothetic Manner, thus,—If *Jesus Christ* instituted Bishops, and gave to them *alone* the Power of sending others, then *those* who pretend to have Christ's Commission and have not received it, either *immediately* from Christ, or *immediately* from these Bishops, cannot be the Ministers of Christ according to Christ's Institution.

And further, that if any Person shall *causelessly separate* from any sound Part of the Catholick Church, he is a *Schismatic* and *Excommunicate*, by voluntarily cutting himself off from the body of Christ.

Now if any one shall make the Assumption and say, these are the *Presbyterian* and the *Congregational* Ministers &c. and their respective Congregations under them,

Yet, (may it please your Honours) *granting it to be so;* I humbly conceive, that the saying, concerning the Dissenting Ministers and their Congregations that they are *no Ministers*, and that they are *Schismatics* and *Excommunicates* (supposing that these Speeches were *absolute* and not *conditional*); yet, I say, I humbly hope, that this would not be actionable, nor respecting the Dissenters, *Matter of a Libel.* Why?

Because, the *Dissenters of all Denominations*, are declared to be *Schismatics* and *Excommunicates* by the Laws of the Land.

And in order to make this appear I beg Leave to recite the 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, and 12th Canons of the Church of *England* published by his Majesty's Authority under the Great Seal of *England*, and now reprinted this very Year by the King's Printer, by Order of his Grace the Archbishop of *Canterbury.* * * *

[After reading the Canons.

May it please your Honours:

There are no expressions in the Book at Bar, *tantamount* to these Censures of the Dissenters, in the Canons just now recited.

And I shall humbly leave it with your Honours, *if it may not be worth your Consideration*, whether the condemning this Book, will not be a Declaration, that the Church passed these Censures against the Dissenters *clave errante?*

But be that as it will, the Dissenters are affirmed to be *no Ministers*, to be Schismatics, and *excommunicate* by the Canons of the Church of *England*, which are part of the Laws of the Land; and therefore, to say the same things of them, I humbly hope, *shall not be deemed a Libel.*

The Sentence of Court.

Suffolk, ss. At a Court of Assise, &c.
Nov. 27, 1724.

Checkley adsect' } Dom. Reg. } *The Court having maturely advised on this special Verdict, are of opinion that the Said* John Checkley *is guilty of publishing and Selling of a false and scandalous Libel. It's therefore considered by the Court, That the said* John Checkley *shall pay a fine of Fifty Pounds to the King, and enter into Recognizance in the Sum of One Hundred Pounds with two Sureties in the Sum of Fifty Pounds each, for his good Behaviour for six Months, and also pay Costs of Prosecution, standing committed until this Sentence be performed.*

Att'. Samuel Tyley, Clerc.

FINIS.

A SPECIMEN

Of a True

Diſſenting Catechism,

Upon Right True-Blue

Diſſenting PRINCIPLES

WITH

*LEARNED NOTES,

By Way of Explication.

Queſtion. Why don't the *Diſſenters* in their Publick Worſhip make uſe of the Creeds?

Anſwer. Why?——Becauſe *they* are not ſet down *Word for Word* in the Bible.

Queſtion. Well,——But why don't the *Diſſenters* in their Publick Worſhip make uſe of the *Lord's-Prayer?*

Anſwer. Oh!——— Because *that* is ſet down *Word for Word* in the Bible.

* They're ſo perverſe and oppoſite
As if they worſhip'd God for Spite.

V.—A COMPARISON OF THE SCALES OF DEPRECIATION OF PAPER MONEY, IN NORTH CAROLINA, IN 1783 AND 1865.

By Professor E. F. Rockwell.

I. Act of the Legislature in 1783.

AN ACT for the establishing a Scale of Depreciation, with a Provision for Suits commenced for Paper Currency, and for Suspending the Operation of the Laws therein mentioned.

I. WHEREAS much difficulty hath arisen in the adjusting and settling Debts and Demands, as well within the Courts of this State as out thereof, from the rapid Depreciation of Paper Currency emitted in circulation; and that a fixed and permanent Scale may be established for the ascertaining the value of the same in future;

II. *Be it therefore enacted by the General Assembly of the State of* North Carolina, *and it is enacted by the authority of the same,* That from and after the passing of this Act, the following Scale shall be, and is hereby declared to be the only scale to determine the value of the Depreciation of the Paper Currency of this State, in all cases whatsoever, estimating the same in Specie; deeming one *Spanish* milled dollar, weighing seventeen penny-weights six grains, to be of the value of eight shillings specie; which scale shall be as follows, *that is to say:*

Years & Mos.	1777	1778	1779	1780	1781	1782
January,	00	3.50	6.00	32.00	210	800
February,	00	3.50	6.50	35.00	225	800
March,	1.25	3.75	7.50	40.00	250	800
April,	1.50	4.00	10.00	50.00	260	800
May,	1.75	4.00	10.00	60.00	300	800
June,	2.00	4.00	12.25	75.00	350	800
July,	2.12½	4.25	15.00	90.00	400	800
August,	2.25	4.50	18.00	100.00	500	800
September,	2.25	4.50	21.00	125.00	550	800
October,	2.50	4.75	25.00	150.00	600	800
November,	2.50	5.00	27.00	175.00	675	800
December,	3.00	5.50	30.00	200.00	725	800

II. Act of the Legislature of North Carolina in 1865.

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That the following scale of depreciation be and the same is hereby adopted and established as the measure of value of one gold dollar, in Confederate currency for each month, and the fractional parts of the month of December, 1864, from the 1st day of November, 1861, to the 1st day of May, 1865, to wit:

Months.	1861	1862	1863	1864	1865
January,	...	$1.20	$3.00	$21.00	$50.00
February,	...	1.30	3.00	21.00	50.00
March,	...	1.50	4.00	23.00	60.00
April,	...	1.50	5.00	20.00	100.00

Months.	1861	1862	1863	1864	1865
May,	...	1.50	5.50	19.00	.....
June,	...	1.50	6.50	18.00	.....
July,	...	1.50	9.00	21.00	.....
August,	...	1.50	14.00	23.00	.....
September,	...	2.00	14.00	25.00	.....
October,	...	2.00	14.00	28.00	.....
November,	$1.10	2.50	15.00	30.00	.....
December,	1.15	2.50	20.00	.....	.....
Dec. 1 to 10th inclusive,	.....	....	.....	35.00	.....
Dec. 11 to 20th inclusive,	.....	....	.....	42.00	.....
Dec. 21st to 31st inclusive,	.....	....	.....	49.00	.....

Though the War of the old Revolution began in reality before, yet as the expectation of some compromise or accommodation was kept up till at or about July, 1776, when the Declaration of Independence was made, and then the people had a definite object in the war, we may regard that as its beginning. And besides, the paper money emitted by the Congress did not depreciate for the first eighteen months, though it then amounted to *twenty millions:* and the paper of the State issues, of course, was influenced in the same way as that of Congress. From June or July, 1776, to the same time in 1777, it took $3 12½ in paper to buy one dollar in silver; and by this time the depreciation had become general, having begun at different periods in different States. We have then, the value in current paper of one dollar in silver, at the end of each of the six successive years from July, 1776, onward.

1777	1778	1779	1780	1781	1782
$2.12½	$4.25	$15.00	$90.00	$400	$800

The value, in gold, of Confederate paper, in each of four years, from April, 1861, onward.

1862	1863	1864	1865	1865	1865
				Apr. 27.	Apr. 29.
$1.50	$5.00	$20	$100	$300	$800

And if we go on through April, 1865, we can fill out the parallel; for according to the record of a banking-house in Augusta, Georgia, we have the scale carried on to the first of May, when the last actual sale of Confederate notes was made.

1865.						
Apr. 20	Apr. 26	Apr. 27	Apr. 28	Apr. 29	Apr 30	May 1
$100	$200	$300	$500	$600	$1000	$1200

The similarity in the rate and progress of depreciation in both cases would be greater, if we had shorter and intervening periods. As it is, however, there is a striking correspondence. And we notice in both a rapid decline after the paper began to lose credit, until it became utterly worthless.

DAVIDSON COLLEGE, N. C. E. F. R.

VI.—WORK AND MATERIALS FOR AMERICAN HISTORY.—CONTINUED.

BY GEORGE H. MOORE, ESQ., LIBRARIAN OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

14.—THE CROSS IN THE KING'S COLORS IN MASSACHUSETTS.

[Brit. Mus. Harl. MS. 4888. ff. 86-91.]

THE *second part of ye Frier's case mentiond & recited in the Roman Horsleech, or an account of an as famous & rideculous action & Dispute that happend in New England about ye Year 1633 whether ye Red Cross in the Banner of England was an Idol or no, with ye argument's urged on both sides.*

In 1633 or whereabouts when people were Revelation mad and drunk with scism & blind zeal one* of ye chief men of Boston in New England being then in authority & yarmd with a lecture against that which ye Ignorant call superstition, with a daring Impudence set up for a Reformer of ye Kings Colour's & haveing taken ye same in his sanctifyd hands took his conscience to witness against a monstrous Idol that he found there in, to witt, a great Cross, & there upon drawing his Knife bravely cut it out with a great deal of self satisfaction & applause & ye next day boldly confess'd & defended ye same.

This unparralel'd Act created great differences in ye Town, amongst all sorts of People, as well amongst those who have nothing to do with affairs of such a nature as those that had in so much that ye very women were fit to pull coive's about it. As for ye common Soldier's who had as little of Religion as Courage or Honesty amongst them, most of them commended ye Act declairing that they'd sooner turn Heathen's & yield to ye Enemy than follow or fight under a Popeish Idol, a Cross (Lord have mercy upon us!) they'd have no more to do with now than with him that sufferd upon one. Yet others amonst them mantaind ye Lawfulness there of, & that they would not deny following ye same in their colours least that they should seem to cast of their allegiance to ye Crown of England.

At length this mighty Matter was carryd on with such fury that ye whole Collony seemd to be in an uproar, so that the General Court were forced to take it into their Cognizance, where af-

* A marginal note on the original manuscript says: "it "was Sr. Harry Vane;" but this is an obvious error, for Vane did not come to New England until 1635, and John Endicott was the well known witness against the cross on this occasion. Indeed, Vane's overruling the over-scrupulous brethren in the subsequent affair of the *Hector*, when the flag was finally displayed in spite of their authority, on the personal responsibility of Vane and Dudley, was among the first occasions of the opposition which ultimately broke him down.

ter a great Bustle & Stir a Committe was chosen & appointed both by ye Magistrates and People, of ye Freemen of ye Collony to examin into ye Matter, where after many teadious Debates, It was carryed by three votes: that tho' their Brother had done well & acted like a good tender conscion'd Christian, that yet nevertheless he had not done prudently; and tho that he did not deserve any punishment for ye Act it self, yet that he ought to be discharged his place in ye Government for ye same for going so bunglingly about it, & for fear that their Charters & Priviledges should by a seizure from ye King make an attonement for ye same. Upon which he was called in Court and this cruel, hard, Sentence of Deposition passd mildly upon him—& he himself Registerd amongst ye St & Sufferer's of ye Lord for ye Testimony that he bore against a Popeish Idol. Yet at ye same time did they fully agree that seeing that ye Cross was cut out, & that it undoubtedly was a Badg of Antichrist & a Mark of ye Limb of ye Divel, & that no one of their side ye Great Dike had any Power to put it in again, that therefore ye use of it should be forborn for ye future amongst them, for fear that ye People should turn Idolater's & God should bring upon them beside's ye Plague's of Impudence, Heresey, Scism, Blind Superstition & such like, all those not half so ill ye Ten plagues of Egypt.

The Reverend Spite-Fire's that were summond from all ye Country round & commanded to lay their heads together upon this weighty Matter argued against ye use of ye Cross in ye Banner thus:

The question, sayd they, is not whether a private Man may not march after his colour's, which have the Cross in them: for ye Christian Legions never scrupled following ye Labarum of ye Roman Emperor's which was an Idolatrous Ensign. Yea ye Jews themselves that made such earnest Suit first unto Pilate & then unto Petronius to have such an Idolatrous Ensign removed from ye walls of their Temple: yet without any scruple followd it in ye field. Nor is it ye question (sayd they) whether ye Cross may be used in our Colours, as a Charm to protect us from our Enemys, or to defend us from Disasters, or to procure Victorys unto us. tho' ye faith wch ye Roman Catholicks have in it, mentiond by Hoveden in ye Reign of Henry ye 2d, when England, France & Flanders distinguished themselves by their varietys of it, Ever since retained, is abominable to all real Protestants. But ye question is whether ye Cross as representing ye Cross of Christ, erected as a Badg of Christianity, & a Sign of Distinction between Christians & Infidels may by any Prince or State, be now in their Banners reserved & employd? This they approved not, & that for all these daughty Reason's.

First—That which God hath commanded utterly to be destroyd should not be retained for ye important uses of Men. But God has commanded ye Cross in ye Banner to be destroyd. this may be thus proved Images of Idols are commanded utterly to be destroyd; But ye Cross in y Banner is ye Image of an Idol, & ye greatest Idol in y church of Rome. As for ye Text in Deutr: where this is commanded it dos affect christians as well as Jews, because that ye moral Reason of ye command yet continues. If that it be objected that then the Temples of Idols were to be destroyd, it may be answerd—Theodosius made a Law that they should be so. However we may distinguish between Temples dedicated unto God by Creatures. ye Papists which Aquinas deny their Temples to have been dedicated unto Sts. But affirm them dedicated unto ye honour & service of God for his Blessings communicated by Ye Sts whose names are used on this occasion. these Temples being purgd from their superstitious Designation's may be still used for our Christian assemblys, as our Saviour used ye Jewish Water Pots to turn Water into Wine, tho' they were superstitious Purifications for which they were placed there.

2dly There is no Civel Honour to be given to ye Image of an Idol, ye 2d Commandment forbids all sorts of Honour not onely sacred, but Civel also to such an Image, Yea, and elswhere all mention of it with honour is prohibited. But now to advance the Cross into ye Banner is to put a Civel & no little honour upon it, it is ye Cross in ye Ensign which dos insignize & render it Ensign, & it was ye Intention of Constantine to honour ye Cross when he interdicted all execution's of Malefactors upon it, & advanced it into his banner.

3dly If ye Figure of ye Altar in Damascus might not be used as a Badg of ye Religion & Profession of ye Israelites, then ye Figure of ye Cross may not be used as a Badg of ye Religion & Profession of ye Protestants, for there is a like proportion, for ye Papists regard ye Cross as ye Altar where on Our Lord was offerd; now such a figure of an Altar was unlawfull to ye People of God.

4ly That which was Execrable to Our Lord; ye Sign of it should not be honourable to us, but so was ye Cross or Our Lord, for it made his Death accursed, nor was it a pure Instrument of meer Martyrdom unto him.

5ly If the Partakeing of idolothytes in ye Places where ye Idols are worshipd, express a Communion with Idols & Idolaters; then ye setting up of ye Cross in y Places where Idolaters do worship it, namely in ye Banner, is an Expression of Communion in their Idolatry. Tis true such meats when sold in ye Shambles might be eaten without scruple of Conscience; but besides this

that it was onely a common place where these might be eaten, whereas ye Cross in ye Banner is in ye Temple where ye apocaliptic Gentiles adore it. Besides that they were Creatures of God, whereas ye Cross in ye Banner is onely a human Contrivance, so if it had been Lawfull for a man to have bought ye silver Shrines of Diana & have causd them to be worn for ye Cognizance of his family or his attendants: ye Cross might perhaps have been lawfully used in ye Banner for a Cognizance.

Lastly—If ye first use of ye Cross in ye Banner by Constantine was superstitious, then ye first fruits being unclean ye whole Lump of ye following use is also unclean: But Eusebius tells us that ye Emperor used this Saveing Sign as a protection against all warlike & hostil Powers, & Sosomen tells us—that ye Emperor changed ye Image of ye Roman Labarum for ye Sign of ye Cross, that so ye Soldiers who where accustomed to worship y Heathen Imperial Ensign, by ye Continual sight and Worship of ye Cross might be weaned from their Country rights & brought to worship that God alone whose Sign it was.

On ye otherside they that pleaded for ye use of ye Cross in ye Banner, argued after this fashion. To state y question wee must know that it is necessary that there should be a Banner displayd, & a Banner with a cross in it serves the End of a Banner as much as any other. Had ye Cross never been superstitiously abused, the Civel use of that figure could not be questiond. But ye superstitious abuse is a thing that is added unto ye Civel use, & accordingly ye superstitious abuse may again be removed from it, otherwise what a Desolation of Bells & other things must be produced by a just Reformation of superstition? Wherefore if ye Present Authority dos neither appoint nor declare any superstition in ye observation of any civel usage, ye superstition of that usage is at an End. Thus tho' it be notoriously known that many Person's in Authority have their superstitious conceits about Churches: yet, inasmuch as there is no Injunction of Authority upon private Persons to approve any such Conceits, tis no superstition in such Persons to use those churches unto Lawfull uses or purposes. Ye Question then is whether ye Civel use of ye Cross in ye Banner may not be separated from ye superstitious abuse of it. And it seems as it may—

First—If names that have been abused for ye honour of Idols may in a civel way be still used: then things that have been so abused may be in ye like manner used for a civel Distinction. But we find ye names of Apollo and Phoebe & ye like used in ye Apostolic Salutations, altho' it had been a less difficulty for those persons to have changed ye names at first sinfully imposed upon them: than for ye Cross in ye Banner to be now wholy layd aside. if any Heathen King put an honour upon his Idol Bell by saying O Belteshazar, ye Spirit of God may speak it without any honour at all to that Idol.

2dly It is one thing to describe a Cross as an Artificial thing by way of Civel Signification, & another thing to employ a Cross as a Sacramental thing, by way of sacred observation & in ye Banner tis ye former, not ye latter way that it is considered. When I am relateing how a Papist crosses himself, I may lawfully express it by making an Aerial Cross like his. Where as it would not be lawfull for me to make such a Cross upon ye same ends with him.

3dly If that ye Cross first used by Constantine had in it any thing unwarantable, if follows not, that ye following use of it, is of ye same Lump with ye first, for if it now be used upon another Design the uncleaness is taken away. Besides Constantine brought ye Cross with as much unwarantableness into his Coin's as he did into his banner, but tis certain that there are few or none this day that would refuse money tho' they got thereon a Popish Idol, but would set mighty esteem on it ye bigger & ye better ye Cross was.

4ly Meats, tho' sacrificed unto Idols might be eaten when sold & bought in ye Market. Now a Cross is an Effect of Art & is a Creature of Gods as well as any of Ye meats bre'd & cooked by men.

* * * * *

15.—CERTAINE PROPOSITIONS FOR THE BETTER ACCOMODATING THE FOREIGNE PLANTATIONS WITH SERVANTS REPORTED FROM THE COMITTEE TO THE COUNCELL OF FOREIGNE PLANTATIONS. [*Circa* 1684.]

[S. P. O. Colonial Entry Book. No. 92. p. 275.]

1. It being universally agreed that people are the foundation and inprovement of all plantations and that people are encreased principally by sending of servants thither, it is necessary that a settled course be taken for the furnishing them with servants.

2. Servants are either blacks or whites.

3. Blacks are such as are brought by waye of trade and are sould at about £20 a head one with another and are the principall and most usefull appurtenances of a plantation and are such as are perpetuall servants.

4. Whites are such as are diverse waies gathered up here in England, verie few from Ireland or Scotland and being transported at the charge of about £6. a head are there entertained by such as they are consigned to from hence or are exchanged for comodities with such as have occa-

sion for them at different rathes according to theire condicon or trade by wch they are rendred more usefull and beneficiall to theire masters. These after certaine yeares are free to plant for themselves or to take wages for theire service as they shall aggree and have to the vallue of tenn pounds sterl. to begin planting for themselves.

5. The waies of obtayning these servants have beene usually by employing a sorte of men and women who make it theire profession to tempt or gaine poore or idle persons to goe to the Plantations and haveing persuaded or deceived them on shipp board they receive a reward from the person who employed them.

6. When the shipps is to be cleared at Graves End ofttymes the servants soe obtayned doe make compl:aint that they were forced or seduced and some cunning rogues after they have beene fedd aboard perhapps a month or longer doe by this meanes avoyd the voyage.

7. For the prevention of the many evills wch doe happen in the forceing tempting and seduceing of servants and for a more certaine and orderly supply of them it may be necessary that an act of Parliamt should pass with such powers and provisions as may be proper to the thing intended and necessary to the plantacons and convenient and beneficiall to the places from wch servants may be drawn.

8. That all felons and such as are condemned to death unless for murther or treason and such particular hainous felonies as shall be excepted shall by the mercy of the King if he thinks itt fitt not to pardon them bee repreived and design'd to forreigne plantations to serve twice seaven yeares at least and to have the value of tenn pounds sett up planting for themselves.

9. That all persons to whome clergie is allowed may instead of being burnt in the hand be designd to the plantations for 7 yeares at least unlesse his Matie shall give the man especiall pardon it being found by constant experience that the cheife theifes and contrivers of robberies are such as are escaped death by being burnt in the hand.

10. That all sturdy beggers as gipsies and other incorrigble rogues and vanderers may be taken upp by cunstaples and imprisoned untill at the next Assizes or Sessions they shall either be acquited and assigned to some setled aboade and course of life here or be appointed to be sent to the plantacions for five yeares under the condicions of servants.

11. And for as much as persons condemned and such rogues grawne withe in all manner of villaine and habituated to a depraved and lazie conversacion are but ill seed for a young plantacion and will bring scandall, evell example and severall inconveniences to any place or Collonie to wch they shall be assigned and appropriated it may be expedient that directions and instructions be given to the Governors of the Charibbee islands to receive such as be appointed to them by the Comrs heere and to exchange them for servants more civill and such as have beene seasoned with the climat and have been exercised in the works of planting & because it may be somewhat hard to expect such an unequall exchange it may be ballanced to them by haveing those sent from thence under the conditions of tenn yeares service and by excepting instead of them such as perhaps have not above three or fower yeares to serve according to the custome or contracts with theire masters.

12. That whereas there are divers Townes, Villages, and Parishes in this nacion where the numbers of poore and idle debauched persons are exceeding greate and where there is either no meanes for the setting them on worke or by theire parents or themselves they are applyed to stealing or other idle or evil courses to the greate scandale and inconveniencie of the nacion it may bee adviseable that a provision be made for the inviteing and receiving or compelling if it shall be judged fitt by the law in that case to be provided some few out of such Townes Villages or Parishes yearly who being especially to bee taken care of by the Comrs appointed here to the managemt of those affaires may be consign'd to a plantation of his Maties in Jamaica where they may bee well ordered and haveing served there certaine yeares may have land asigned them and haveing certaine tooles and utensills allowed them upon the publicq stock may become good planters usefull to the plantation and comfortable and hopefull to theire friends.

13. And because a worke so publicke and of so greate importance ought to bee mannaged by some publicq persons it may be expedient that the care conducte and comptroll of all matters relating to the transportation of servants be referred to certain Comrs proper and instructed thereunto.

14. That there bee before these Comissrs a Registrie or Entrie of all servants that shall be transported from any part or place in England.

15. That the Comrs shall appointe an Officer upon oath in such ports as they shall thinke fitt for the registring every person that shall be transported as a servant his age and the place where hee was borne and where he was last resident.

16. That all such condemned persons or others as by the lawes and by the judges or justices in sessions shall be judged or compelled to goe into the Forreigne plantations as Servants shall within three daies after such judgment be certified by the Clarke of the peace or Clark of Assize to the said Comrs or their Register and that the said Comrs or Register doe write to the Sheriffes of the respective Counties or Citties asseigning to what other Sheriffe or place or port they shall be delivered where there may be certaine worke

howses erected for the receiving and employing them untill they shall be transported.

17. That the Comrs appointed thereunto shall take a settled care for the receiving transporting and consigning such persons as shall be by the law to be disposed of.

18. That it shall be left to the discretion of the said Comrs how the said servants may be the best disposed of to the advantage of his Matie and to the publicq utilitie in order to wch they may dispose so many as by theire correspondencie with his Maties Goverment upon the place shall be judged necessary for his Matie imediate service either to the enabling the soldiers of Jamaica to bee Planters or to any other service or occasion and may order the rest to bee hired out or exchanged for provisions or other things necessary for his Maties plantacion.

19. And that this waie of supplying the forreigne Plantations may prove no grievance or inconvenience to the Merchants or Planters of the severall Collonies the former accustomed liberty may be still left them fayrely to provide for theire owne use such servants as they can here contract with they being obleidged to enter them at the port or places where they shall be shipped and cleared that thence they may be registered before the Comrs in the Grall Registrie.

20. And lastly when as the severall servants that are sent from thence shall arrive in the respective Collonies and Plantacions it may be convenient that they may be there registred by the respective Secretaries and that every six months the said Secretaries doe transmitt the names of the said servants and the places and persons to whome they are dispersed that theire friends may the better understand from the Register here how they may heere of them or correspond with them.

16.—JOHN SAFFIN AND HIS DOMESTIC RELATIONS.

[Mass. Archives, XI, 152, 153.]

TO *his Excellency Joseph Dudley Esqr Captaine Generall & Comandor in chief in & over Her Majestys Province of the Massathussetts Bay in New England The Honble Council & Representatives Convened in the Great & Genll Court att Boston on the Twenty Sixth Day of May Anno* 1703—

The Petition of JOHN SAFFIN Esq in all Humility Presenteth.

As the Parliament of England is the Supream Councill of the Nation, and the Sovereign Remedy of all grievances, Oppressions, & Male Administrations of the Greatest Peers of the Realm, and the Highest Courts of Judicature Even so this great & Genll Court or Assembly is (as yor Petionr humbly conceives) an Embleme or Similitude of that Power Derived from the Royall Charter granted to the People of this Province for the Redressing of the grievances Oppressions Male Administrations and Tort Actions of the greatest Persons or Courts of Judicature Subordinate to this Grand Assembly. And therefore it is, that yor humble Petir (finding no other Remedy) is Imboldned humbly to Address this great Council, & Implore their Ayd, that they would be pleased to grant him Audience in a matter wherein he is greatly Injured & Oppressed; and in such a manner he presumes there hath not been the like done in New England. The thing in brief is this. Yor Petir hath a certaine Negro man named Adam that is with held or taken from him yor Petir under countenance of Authority (not collour of law) wch Negro hath sooner or later cost yor Petir above Threescore pounds. The pretended matter in Controversy hath been twice before no less than two Justices of the Peace, and at four severall Superior Courts, & continued above these two years last past, and yet is not Determined, nor doth yor Petir know when it will. in the meantime yor Petir is made a meer Vassall to his slave in being at continuall cost and Charges about him to supply him with all manner of Necessarys as Cloaths, Bedding food and Phisick, and attendance when lately he had the Small pox. Allso to pay the keeper for his keeping in Prison Three months where he was by the Quarter Sessions committed for his outrages & murtherous attempts at the Castle: generally known, (a Narrative whereof being in Print,) yet for all this the said vile Negro is at this Day set at large to goe at his pleasure, in open Defiance of me his Master in danger of my life, he haveing threatned to be Revenged of me and all them that have Cross't his turbulent Humour, to the great Scandall and Evill Example of all Negros both in Town and Countrey whose Eyes are upon this wretched Negro to see the Issue of these his Exorbitant practices.

The Premisses Considered yo Petir doth humbly Implore this Honble Assembly to grant Redress by Vouchsafeing yor Petir a hearing either before this Honble Assembly or by a Comittee as in yor Wisdomes you shall Deeme most Convenient, the various Circumstances of those Transactions being so large as to Exceed the limitts of A petition in Writeing; And allso that upon the understanding the Justice of yor Petirs cause yor Honors will be pleased to doe him Right in all Respects, by Restoreing his said Negro to yor Petir that as an English Subject he may Dispose of his said Negro, as he shall see cause for his own Safty, and all other of her Majestys good Subjects that may be Exposed to any Detriment by the sd Negros villainous practices.

And yor Petionr as in Duty bound shall Pray &c. JOHN SAFFIN.

In the House of Representatives
June 1rst 1703 Read, June 3rd Read

ORDERED That the Petitioner have a Hearing before this Court on the 2d Wednesday of the next Session.

Sent up for Concurrence.

JAMS CONVERSE Speaker.

In Council June 3d 1703

Read and not agreed to, and ordered That the matter be heard before the next Court of Generall Sessions of the Peace for Suffolk

ISA ADDINGTON Secry

In the House of Representatives June 3d 1703
Read and Agreed.

JAMS. CONVERSE Speaker.

[*Endorsed*]

Petition of John Saffin Esq
June 1, 1703.

TO *his Excellency Joseph Dudley Esqr Governr Capt Genll and Comandr in Chief in & over Her Maties Province of the Massethusetts Bay in New England &c. the Honble Council & House of Representatives Now Assembled Novembr 15th 1703*

SHEWETH

The Petition of John Saffin Esqr most humbly

That there is a certaine Negro man Named Adam Servant to yor Petitionr who hath by his Vile behaviour Exposed yor Petir to very much trouble and Charge above two years & half last past haveing been at no less than five Superior Courts & two Inferior Courts seeking to Obteine his freedom under the pretence of A Writeing under the hand of yor Petir when he lett his farme at Bristol to Thomas Shepard with the said Negro, knowing him to be a Desperate Dangerous Villaine, and of a Turbulent humour I Endeavored to Oblige him to his Duty, and thereupon promised his freedome under my hand att the End of the Terme upon the Conditions in the words following Vizt Allways Provided that the said Adam my Servant Doe in the meane time goe on Chearfully quietly & Indurtriously in the lawfull Business that Either my Selfe or my Assigns shall from time to time Reasonably sett him about or Imploy him in And Doe behave & abare himself as an honiest true and faithfull Servant Ought to doe Dureing the Terme of Seven years as aforesaid.

Now may it please yor Excellency and this Honble Assembly the said Negro hath in no wise performed the Conditions on wch he was to be free But on the Contrary hath behaved himself Turbulently Neglegently Insolently and Outragiously both to yor Petir and his Tenant Thomas Shepard his wife and family, and Others where yor Petir hath placed him so that he hath had no Profitt but loss by him said Negro these Eight Years and upward but was faine to abate the said Tenant of his Rent for that cause, and in the mean time yor Petir hath been at continued great cost and Charges about the said Negro to this Day in provideing him Cloaths Bedding Phisick Attendance and all manner of Necessarys when he was lately sick of the Small Pox besides about Six pounds payed the keeper of the Prison for Charges when he said Negro was Comitted by the Court upon the Complaint of Capt Timothy Clark of the said Negro's Outrage at the Castle in great danger of the said Capt Clark's life wch was proved upon oath. Allso the said Negro hath often times Threatned to Kill yor Petir and lately told Mr Willard the keeper of the Prison that if he had Oppertunity he would make no more to Twist or wring off the Neck of yo Petir then he would of a Snake all wch is upon Oath and more to the Same Effect.

The Premisses Considered yor Petitionr Doth humbly Implore this Honble Assembly to grant Releif, and that he may have liberty to Review the Action and Judgment the said Negro hath lately Obtained for his freedome at this last Superior Court at Boston (Notwithstanding he was cast at two Courts before) And that according to yor Wisdomes some Effectuall Order may be given that the said Negro may be in safe Custody, and not goe at large a his pleasure, that the Person of yor Petition may under God, be in safty & secured from the Danger of his life threatned by that Notorious Villaine & allso that yor Petir may be Reimbursed the Charges he hath been att about the said Negro upon all Occasions as aforesaid

And yor Petitionr Shall Pray &c.

JNO SAFFIN.

In the House of Representatives
Novemr: 15th 1703. Read.
Novem: 19th 1703

ORDERED That the Petitioner have a Review at the next Superiour Court held at Boston and in the mean time the Negroe be of of Bonds with Suretys for the Peace, and good behaviour. Sent up for Concurrence.

JAMS. CONVERSE Speaker

In Council Decr pro 1703
Read, and not concurr'd,
but yr Petr. is refer'd to the Law.

ISA ADDINGTON Secry

[*Endorsed*]

Petition of John Saffin Esq
15th Novr 1703.

The Narrative in print, referred to in the first of the foregoing petitions, is annexed to Judge Saffin's remarkable reply to Judge Sewall's *Selling of Joseph* —both of which were recently discovered and reproduced for the first time in the present century in the *Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts*. The only copy of Saffin's tract of which we have any knowledge is in the library of GEORGE BRINLEY, Esq., of Hartford, Connecticut.

Judge Saffin was a man of distinction in his day. Hutchinson speaks of him as "a principal "inhabitant of Bristol, and the father of Thomas "Saffin in Stepney churchyard, whose memory "the author of the *Spectator* has immortalized." The author of the *Spectator*, (No. 518, October 24, 1712,) quotes the epitaph, of which he characterizes the style as diffuse and luxuriant, having something of the simple and pathetic. It was more than once copied in those days, attracting much attention as

"*An odd Epitaph upon* Thomas Saffin.

"Here *Thomas Saffin* lies Interr'd, ah! why,
"Born in *New-England*, did in *London* die?
"Was the third Son of eight, begot upon
"*His mother* Martha, *by his Father* John.
"Much favour'd by his Prince he 'gan to be
"But nipt by Death at th' Age of 23.
"Fatal to him was that we Small-Pox name,
"By which his Mother and two Brethren came
"Also to breathe their last, nine Years before,
"And now have left their Father to deplore
"The loss of all his Children, with that wife
"Who was the Joy and Comfort of his Life."
June 18, 1687.

"That wife," the first of three to whom he was united, was the daughter of that distinguished Captain Thomas Willett, who was an Assistant in Plymouth Colony and afterwards the first English Mayor of the City of New York. He separated from his third wife and incurred the sharp censure of Cotton Mather for his conduct towards her. One of his biographers says that "his temper became peevish and irascible, and he "seems to have lost the respect with which he had "once been regarded." WASHBURN'S *Judicial History*: 270.

THE COTTON-GIN.—Mrs. Gage, one of the women of the *Revolution*, insists that the wife of General Greene, of Rhode Island, and not Eli Whitney, of New Haven, invented the cotton-gin. Mr. Whitney, she says, was only the mechanic who worked out Mrs. Greene's ideas. But, then, history don't agree with Mrs. Gage, and until she works out a revolution in history, Mr. Whitney will retain the credit that was secured to him by immense labor and expense.

VII.—SELECTIONS FROM PORTFOLIOS IN VARIOUS LIBRARIES.—CONTINUED.

117.—ADMIRAL KEPPEL to GOVERNOR CHARLES LAWRENCE OF NOVA SCOTIA.*

Sea Horse AT SEA July ye 26th 1755.

SIR,

I have received ye favour of several different letters from you upon his Majesties service & was upon ye point of sailing to your port, but first ye melancholly report of the defeat of the Kings troops under General Braddock stopt me, & Imediatly after receiving Admiral Boscawen's, orders, I am prevented having ye pleasure of seeing you, but I must give you Joy of your being so much more Effectually Guarded,

between the first report of ye General's death & any confirmation of ye story, there was a space of ten days which gave me flattering hopes that it was only report, but ye day before yesterday, I received a Confirmation of it by express from Mills creek, I Imagine Altho' it is a Melancholly subject you would be glad of ye particulars & have Inclosed you a list of the killed & wounded, a copy of a letter from Mr Orme, General Braddock's Aid de Camp, to me, and a Copy of Mr. Washington's (who was likewise the General Aid de Camp.) to Govourner Dinwiddie.

Great Blame & shame is laid to yr Charge of the private men of poor Sir Peter Halkett & Col. Dunbar's regiment that was upon ye spot, Ye loss of ye Artillery is irretrievable as it Enables ye french to fortify themselves so strongly, & I fear very much ye Credit of ye British Arms Among ye Indians will now be lost, a number of unhappy Circumstances will attend this defeat, it may Effect Govr Shirley in his Attack against Niagara, as well as Many other operations that was proposed;

I Give you Joy that your Expedition by ye Bay has succeeded so well, & I wish sir you may always be as Successfull. I am to far off to receive your Comands for England & Am Sir

your most obed & most
humble Servant
A. KEPPEL.

To Gov LAWRENCE.

118.—GENERAL HENRY DEARBORN to GOVERNOR TOMPKINS.†

HEAD QUARTERS,
ALBANY Decr 29th 1812

His Excellency,
GOVERNOR TOMPKINS.

SIR,

It has become necessary for me to request your Excellency to order into the service of the United

* From the original in the Collection of the American Antiquarian Society.
† From the original belonging to the Editor.

States, one Major, three Captains, three Subalterns, & a suitable officer to act as Judge Advocate from the detached Militia of New York, to form a General Court Martial on the 13th day of January next for the trial of such deserters & delinquents of Brigr Gen. Petits Brigade of detached Militia & of the Companies & Corps, ordered into service, on the northern Frontier of this State, since the first day of July last, under & pursuant to the Act of Congress of the 28 of February 1795,—as may be expedient. With great respect

I have the honor to be
your Excellency's
Obedient & humble Servant
H. DEARBORN.

119.—ELKANAH WATSON TO JOHN RANDEL JR.*

MY DEAR SIR

One or two Letters passed between us—old Albany friends—On the Subject of a short rail road of 4 miles from Port Kent to Keeseville.

After Majr Beach's exploring & Report——Capitalists in this City, and in N—Y—had agreed to take the Stock——which I had Subscribed—Viz 1100 Shares out of 1200——at 50c each. At the Same time my Son in Law a distinguished Member in Congress being on the Spott Strongly urged me to retain the whole Stock—& pledged himself to furnish me pecuniary aid If required.

But my advanced age (77) & the misfortunes of my Son Chls —forbid my embarking.

I congratulate you most cordially on your good fortune——& I cannot conceive how it is possible——you cou'd invest a portion of your fortune in an object of So much certainty and growing importance as to product.

I do not mean to dwell——but enclose you Majr Beach's letter & original Report—which I pray you either to return me by a *Safe hand* who will pledge himself to put it in the Post Office in this City in person—or perhaps best by Mail——altho I am oppress'd with paying postages Mostly on matter of a public Nature in which I have no Interest. I will at this moment barely Suggest——to hold the entire Stock jointly between us, the object lies compared to its magnitude for 50 years—in a Snugg Small compass. I also enclose you Majr Bache (not Beach) U. S—engineers Report for a brakewater which has had two readings in Congress & will doubtless pass———which please Also to return.

I can Say——I pray you during the insuing Month to Step abd the Packet boat Troy——$2——to White Hall—when you embark abd the Steamboat 3—at Port Kent—when you arrive under my broad roof—in the Evng ———besides we have the most decisive evidences of exhaustless lead mines on Trembleau Mountain which forms South Shore of Our harbor (See Map) belonging to me———which I Shou'd be induced to Connect with the other object—on the most accomodating footing——providing we Shou'd be conjoint in the Rail road concern.

I will Say No More—only to invite you to make us a visit Short or long———& Judge for yourself—If you so Say—then name about the time you will be with us.

Adieu———
Cordially & Sincerely
Your Old friend
ELKANAH WATSON.

JOHN RANDAL Jr Esq.
CIVIL ENGINEER. ALBANY 30 Ap. 1832.

☞ Pray be very careful of my documents—— as I have no other

I will barely——add——this Short link is part of the Great Chain——destined to connect Ogdenburgh & Boston——Charters have been obtained for this object in four States——& Port Kent——Burlington——Montpellier Vt Concord Capital New Hampshire——Lowel (Masstts)—are made points,——it was throughly explored by James Hayward Esq. of Cambridge Masstts —— in its whole extent who was Also a Member in the rail road Convention held at Montpellier in 32 composed by Members from all these States—of which I was Also a Member & Luther Bradish of Malone—Chairman. Public Mind is gradually maturing——the first Link from Boston to Lowel is just completed; & this little 4 Mile link is considered the Second———

Adieu
E. W.

120.—COMMODORE PREBLE TO CAPTAIN MASON AND OTHERS.*

UNITED STATES FRIGATE *Constitution*,
1st October, 1803, GIBRALTAR BAY.

GENTLEMEN,—

A Letter directed to Commodore Morris has come to my hand, and as Commodore of the Mediterranean Squadron—I beg leave to observe that there can be but little danger in your proceeding to the United States, as there is two of my Squadron cruising off Mogadore, Sallee & Larache will prevent their cruisers from putting to Sea—

The Moorish Frigate is now at Lisbon, & has orders not to go out until peace is established between us & the Emperor. A Sloop of War, however, I have ordered to take a Convoy from this Bay, & pass near Cadiz, that you may take advantage of her Convoy—she will sail the first East

* From the original belonging to Mrs. Randel.

* From the original in the Consulate of the United States at Cadiz.

wind—there is no truth in the report, the Moorish Frigates having taken four American vessels.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,
Your obt Servt
EDWARD PREBLE.

To CAPT. BENJAMIN MASON
& others.

121.—CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY TO HENRY LAURENS.*

FORT JOHNSTON, Jan. 11, 1776.
8 o'clock in the ev'g.

To the Honble HENRY LAURENS, Esq.,
President of the Council of Safety.

DR. SIR,

This morning between nine and ten o'clock we discovered from Fort Johnston Two ships & a sloop to the Northward of the Bar. The misty weather prevented us from distinguishing whether they were Ships of War or Merchantmen. The Fog not clearing up, about one o'clock I dispatched a boat to reconnoitre them and see what they were; from that boat I have this moment learnt, that there is a large ship, a smaller one, & a sloop off the Bar. that neither of them had Pendants, but one of them had a Whisp, in her ensign. It is not in my power to inform you whether they are Ships of Force or not, as the mist prevented the men from seeing whether they had guns or not, though our boat was near the Bar. This afternoon I stopped a Pilot Boat with a long Pendant as she attempted to pass the Fort, 'till I could be informed where she was going and her authority for passing. The Master of her behaved very insolently & told me I behaved exceedingly wrong in stopping him & that he would complain to your Board. I am not only warranted in what I did (according to my apprehension) by the order Congress of the 10th of Novr last, but the order of the late Council of Safety of the 17th of Sept. 1775 expressly directs the Commander of Fort Johnston to do all in his power to prevent people from going anywhere below Fort Johnston without a Permit from the Council of Safety giving him a good account of their intended business.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Yr most obedt & most hble servt
CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY.

122.—BENEDICT ARNOLD TO MR. BALL.†

PHILADA. July 8, 1780.

DEAR SIR,

I have this day wrote Mr. Hosmer and Inclosed him a Certificate from the Board of War. If you have not already received the Treasury notes, He will be able to obtain them on reciet of my Letter and deliver them to you.

I find the Exchange here sixty five dollars Paper for One in Specie. Bills drawn on France by the French agent at 60 days sight are sold here at 45 Dollars Paper for 5 Livres Tournois equal to about 4s 4d sterlg. The Bills drawn by Congress for interest on Loan Office certificates are sold much at the same rate. Bills drawn by Congress on Spain at 6 are sold at Thirty Six for One. I suppose the Bills which Col Wadworth expects drawn by the French Commissary are much the same as the Agents, they are not worth more than 4s 6d Lawful mony of Connecticut for 5 Livres Tournois Reckoning the Money equal to Specie & the Exchge at Sixty For One. I wish to have the money remitted me in Specie Bills or Paper equivalent without Loss as the Certificates are recd as Specie, & I would not choose to undervalue them. I drew on you in favor of Mr. Thompson Phillips for £21. 7. & in favr of M. D. Hopkins for £10. L. money or 2000 Dollars Paper to be paid when in Cash on my acct.

I wish you to be good enough to write me particularly on Receit of the Notes, & to dispose of them If it can be done without loss & remit the mony to me. Mr. Mumford of N. London has money in this place perhaps it will suite him to take the Bills and Give an order on his agent here to pay me the amt in Paper at the Current Exchge here.

I expect in a few days to set out for the army I wish you to write to me directed to the Care of General Howe at Wt Point. Very probable I shall be there myself.

My sister joins me in Compliments to Mrs Ball.
I am with great regard
Dr Sir
Your Obed. Hbl. Servt
B. ARNOLD.

MR. CALEB BALL JUNR.
HARTFORD."

[*Endorsed in Arnold's hand.*]
"Copy to Mr. Caleb Ball, July 8, 1780."

123.—GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GENERAL JOHN MORIN SCOTT.*

HEAD QUARTERS
10th June 1782

SIR

In reply to your favor of the 4th I enclose you copies of the resolutions of the house of repre-

* From the original belonging to Frank W. Ballard, Esq of New York.

† From the original belonging to Charles L Bushnell Esq. of New York.

* From the original in the possession of Charles Scott McKnight, Esq., of Poughkeepsie, N. Y., General Scott's great grandson.

sentatives of the State of South Carolina, the consequent resolve of Congress thereon, & my letter to Sir Guy Carleton on the subject of the South Carolina inhabitants.

These resolutions not appearing to me to be sufficiently explicit as to the manner in which those persons had been removed from Charleston, I was obliged, in order to put the matter on a tolerable footing, to extend the idea, by saying that they were sent off by orders of the British Commanders; without knowing the particular reasons the enemy would assign for this treatment, or being acquainted with the real circumstances under which the inhabitants left their state, but supposing that it would be alleged, that they were sent off as persons factious, disaffected and dangerous to the British Government, they would think the request of a very extraordinary nature, & would consider their compliance in the light of conferring a high obligation, especially by bearing the expense of their transportation———On this ground I considered the request as asking a favor; and in that view of the subject I made the observation you allude to.———And I think, from Sir Guy's letter and his ease of compliance, I was not mistaken in my ideas of the light in which the British Commander has viewed the requisition.———

I have the honor to be
Sir Your most obedient
humble servt
G. Washington

Hon° John M Scott Esq.

124.—General Schuyler to the New York Delegation in Congress.*

Newburgh April 6th, 1782.

Gentlemen:

The Governor the honor of whose Company I was to have had on a visit to General Washington became suddenly so much indisposed that he could not venture to leave home, and requested me to mention to the General the necessity of ordering provisions to be issued, to the levies now actually raising and *collecting* to serve on the frontiers of the State to the first day of January next as the Contractors conceive they are not authorized to issue to any other than the line of the army and to such militia as may be called into the field by the Commander In chief or commanding officer of a department. In conversing with the General on this subject he informed me that he was not advised of the determination of Congress, and as the supplying of all such troops out of the continental magazine or not, was now in agitation before that body, he could not with propriety decide—to gain a speedy decission on a matter so important to the state I have thought it my duty to embrace an opportunity which offers for Philadelphia to Intreat your Intervention, and to assure you It will not be in our power to find provision for these troops—

On the 2d of April 1781 Congress resolved that the levies to be raised by New York should be found with provisions out of the Continental Magazine without any Condition annexed—that of Cloathing paying and Subsisting the two State regiments to be raised on bounties of unappropriated lands they put on the contingency of our compleating the continental battallions of the State. The reasons which led Congress to provide for the former still exist and in a greater degree, as the State is now much less able to sustain so heavy a charge, in addition to that incident on raising the men, for whose pay they are also to provide in the first instance.

Before I left Poughkeepsie both houses by joint resolution had requested the Governor to apply to Congress to have the suspending clause In the resolution relative to the two regiments taken of as the legislature had pursued such measures to compleat to compleat *all our* regiments Serving in the continental to their full establishment as cannot fail of being *effectual*. The Governor may not yet have had it in his power to transmit copy of the act and joint resolution. I therefore take the liberty to recommend that business also to your attention, and the rather as when that resolution was passed by us, we were not possessed of the act of the 2d of April 1781 and did not know that a supply of arms was not contained in it otherwise would have requested it, and as we have no arms, It becomes indispensibly necessary that provision should be made for arming them out of the public stores, you will therefore readily perceive the necessity of procuring an extension of the resolution for that purpose.

The legislature has also impowered the Governor on the requisition of the General to call forth any militia the latter may require to serve with the army for the term of three months, and If aid should be wanted beyond that time to make new detachments for the purpose. These exertions on our part will I hope Induce Congress to comply with any request you may make relative to the levies and two State regiments.

The legislature will rise on Wednesday next. I have had the pleasure of seeing Dr Mc Night a day or two ago, he and the family are all well.

I am gentlemen, with great regard & esteem your affectionate Humble Servant

Ph. Schuyler.

Jno: M. Scott & Wm Floyd Esq's &c.

* From the original belonging to Lewis A. Scott, Esq. of Phila.

125.—Commodore John Paul Jones to John Wendell.*

Ranger Nantes 11th Decr 1777.

My dear Sir,

The *Ranger* was wafted by the Pinions of the gentlest and most friendly Gales along the Surface of the Blue profound of Neptune; and not the swelling bosom of a Friend's nor even of an *Enemy's Sail*, appeared within our placid Horizon, until after we had passed the Everlasting Mountains of the Sea (called Azores) whoes tops are in the Clouds and whoes foundations are in the Center. When lo! this Halcyon Season was interrupted! the "gathering Fleets o'erspread the Sea" and Wars alarms began! nor ceased day or night untill aided by the mighty Boreas, we cast anchor in this Asylum the 2d Curt. but since I am not certain that my Poetry will be understood, it may not be amiss to add *by way of Marginal* note, that after leaving Portsmouth nothing remarkable happened untill I got to the Eastward of the Western Islands; and that from that time untill my arrival here, I fell in with Ships every day sometimes every hour; within Eighty Leagues of Ushant, I met with an Enemies fleet of Ten sail bound up Channel, but notwithstanding my best endeavours, I was unable to detach any of them from the strong Convoy under which they sailed. I met with and brought to a variety of other Ships, none whereof proved British Property, except two Brigantines from Malaga with Fruit for London, which became Prizes, the one is arrived here, the other I am told is in Quiberon Bay; as I have met with and brought to several Ships in the Night, I had the most agreeable Proofs of the active Spirit of my Officers and men.

I have forwarded my dispatches to Paris, by Express, and determine not to go myself unless I am sent for. I understand that in obedience to Orders from the Secret Committee, the Commissioners had, some time ago, provided one of the finest Frigates for me that can be imagined, calculated for Thirty two, Twenty four Pounders, on one deck, and longer than any Ship in the Enemies Fleet; but that it has been found necessary to give her up, on account of some difficulties which they have met with at Court. My Heart glows with the most fervent Gratitude for this, and every other unsolicited and unexpected instance of the favor and Approbation of Congress; and if a Life of Services devoted to the Interests of America, can be made Instrumental in securing its Independence, I shall be the happiest of men, and regard the continuance of such Approbation as an Honor far superior to the empty Peagantry which Kings ever had Power to bestow.

* Communicated by John Ward Dean, Esq., of Boston.

I esteem your Son as a promising and deserving young man. I have just now had some Conversation with him and am much Pleased with his diffidence and Modesty; he would not he says accept of a Commission untill he thinks himself equal to the duty of the Office of Lieutenant; there I think he shows a true Spirit; in the mean time, he tells me is perfectly satisfy'd with his present Situation; any thing within my Power to render his Situation happy and Instructive, shall not be wanting.

I must rely upon you to make my best Compliments acceptable to the fair Miss Wendell, and to the other agreeable Ladies of my acquaintance in Portsmouth. The Captain of the Raleigh I understand is well, and has lately been figuring it away at Paris, whereof please to acquaint my *Sister* officer. I should be exceedingly happy to hear from you, but as my destination depends on what I am to hear from the Commissioners, I cannot at Present give you my Address, but will drop you another, How do you do, shortly.

I am with Sentiments of Respect & Regard,
My dear Sir,
Your obliged
very Obedient
most humble Servant
Jno P. Jones

John Wendell, Esqr
Portsmouth.

[*Addressed:*]
John Wendell Esquire
Portsmouth
New Hampshire

VIII.—SKETCHES OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THIS COUNTRY BEFORE THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION.—Continued.

NEW JERSEY.—Continued.

By Rev. E. F. Hatfield, D.D.

The retirement of the Rev. Samuel Melyen from the pastoral charge of the church of Elizabeth-Town, on account of social delinquencies,*

* It was said, in our previous number, that he was charged with intemperance, a vice alarmingly prevalent among all classes of society, at that period. The Rev. John Miller, of New York, gives, in 1695, an appalling representation of the dissipation then everywhere observable in all ranks and professions. At the ordination of Mr. Melyen, they must have had a jolly time. Mr. Harriman, the senior pastor, has left the following record: "The exact accounnt of wt we "spent upon ye occasion is as follows:

"p Money layd out in sweet spice at N. Y.....3. 6
"p ¾ of a bushl of wheat at 4s is.....3. 0
"p a bushll of barley mault.....3. 9
"p 6 lb of butter.....3. 0
"p 1 qt of rum 15 l.....1. 3
"p 3 lb shugr at 6d is.....1. 6
"p pepper 9d is.....0. 9
"p 4 lb of cheese.....2. 0
"p a qtrs limb wt 8lb¾ at 4d is.....2.11
"p 2 qt veal.....4. 2"

left the people once more without a settled ministry. In the following year, however, JONATHAN DICKINSON, who had just completed his first score of years, was employed as a candidate for settlement. Measures were taken at the expiration of a twelve-month, for his ordination as pastor.

He was born on the twenty-second of April, 1688, at Hatfield, Massachusetts. His father, Hezekiah, was born at Wethersfield, Connecticut, in February, 1645 6, whence he emigrated successively to Stratford, Hatfield, Hadley, and Springfield; marrying at Stratford, on the fourth of December, 1679, Abigail, the daughter of Samuel, and grand-daughter of Rev. Adam Blackman, of that town. Jonathan was their second child. When he was but two years old, the family removed to Hadley, and five years after to Springfield, where mostly he spent his boyhood. His mother's connection with the Stratford people, whose Pastor, Israel Chauncey, was one of the principal founders of Yale College, brought him into one of the first classes of that institution, conducted by Rev. Abraham Pierson, at Killingworth, Connecticut, of whose family he became a member. Jared Eliot, (afterwards minister of Killingworth,) and Timothy Woodbridge, (afterwards Minister of Simsbury, Connecticut,) were his classmates. He graduated in 1706. At Guilford, adjacent to Killingworth, on the West, he was in the way of hearing much about East Jersey, whither so many of their kindred had emigrated. There too, probably, he met among the Hubbards and Fowlers, and courted, their cousin, Joanna Melyen, the sister of the Rev. Samuel Melyen, of Elizabethtown, whom he married as early as March, 1709, in his twenty-first year. She was more than four years his senior.

His ordination at Elizabeth-town took place on Friday, the twenty-ninth of September, 1709. The services were performed by the Consociation of Fairfield County, Connecticut, then newly organized, and consisting of the Rev. Messrs. John Davenport, of Stamford, Stephen Buckingham, of Norwalk, Joseph Webb, of Fairfield, and Israel Chauncey, of Stratford. The Rev. Joseph Morgan, of Freehold, New Jersey, and probably, the Rev. Nathaniel Bowers, of Newark, and the Rev. Nathaniel Wade, of Woodbridge, New Jersey, were associated with them. All these were Independents. Morgan preached the sermon, the same that he had preached at his own ordination, in June, 1700, from Mark, xvi, 16, "Go ye "into all the world," etc. It was printed in 1712, by W. & A. Bradford, at New York, with the title, *The Great Concernment of Gospel Ordinances, manifested from the great effects of improving or neglecting them.* A copy of it is preserved in the Library of the Connecticut Historical Society, at Hartford. He tells the ministry, that "A tow lace ill becomes a silk garment."

The boy-preacher had a great burden laid upon him. His charge included, not only the town proper along the lower part of the Creek, but Woodruff's Farms, Williams' Farms, Lyon's Farms, Wade's, (or Connecticut) Farms, Rahway, Westfield, and Scotch Plains, and all the region beyond towards the setting sun. Neither church nor minister was yet to be found in advance of him to the West. It was the extreme border of civilization in that direction. The Episcopal society was small and feeble, and Mr. Vaughan, their missionary, had not yet arrived. He stood alone, and received this weighty charge in the first year of his manhood and ministry. His compensation was to be eighty pounds with the parsonage, and "perquisites of Marriages." Quietly and diligently he gave himself to his work, and speedily took rank among the very first of his profession.

A Presbytery, after the Scotch pattern, had been organized, at or in the vicinity of Philadelphia, about four years before Mr. Dickinson's settlement. The church of Freehold, New Jersey, was among the earliest to be taken under the care of the new Presbytery. Difficulties having occurred in the church at Woodbridge, (organized on the twenty-ninth of January, 1707-8,) they sought, in 1708, the advice of the Presbytery, and thenceforward remained under their care. One by one the Independent ministers and churches outside of New England entered into the new connection and became Presbyterian. Lord Cornbury's zeal for "The Church," and his persecution of Makemie, served to consolidate the Puritan party in New York and New Jersey, leading them to look favorably upon Presbyterian order and discipline. So largely had this influence been felt, that the Presbytery of Philadelphia, in 1716, resolved itself into a Synod of three Presbyteries. At the first meeting of the Synod, on the seventeenth of September, 1717, at Philadelphia, the name of Mr. Dickinson appears for the first time as a Presbyterian minister, the youngest member of the Presbytery of Philadelphia. He had previously met with the Presbytery, at the ordination, on the twentieth of October, 1715, of Robert Orr, Maidenhead, New Jersey, and at the ordination, on the twenty-ninth of April, 1717, of John Pierson, Woodbridge, New Jersey. He had probably, on the latter occasion, been received as a member of the Presbytery.

In 1717, therefore, the old Independent church of Elizabeth-town, with its young, energetic, and influential pastor, became distinctively a Presbyterian church, being taken under the care of the Presbytery of Philadelphia, with no other change

The ordination dinner required a good supply of "toddy," a custom that continued to be observed a century longer.

in its constitution than what was required in the election of ruling elders. The connection of the church with the Synod is first recognized, on the nineteenth of September, 1718:

"A collection was made for the fund by the "Synod, according to appointment. Mr. Dick- "inson delivered one pound twelve shillings from "his congregation at Elizabethtown for the "fund."

Not until the fifth annual meeting of the Synod, at Philadelphia, on the twentieth of September, 1721, was the church represented in the Synod, by one of its Elders, Robert Ogden, whose father, Jonathan, had been one of Mr. Harriman's two deacons. They may have been represented in the Presbytery at an earlier date, and probably were. Mr. Dickinson, almost from the first, became a leader among his brethren, and exerted his influence always on the side of liberty, opposing subscription, and protesting against the exercise of legislative authority on the part of the Synod or any of its Presbyteries. This position he maintained through life, always siding with the party of popular rights. As Moderator of the Synod, the previous year, he preached the opening sermon, on the twentieth of September, 1722, from II Timothy, iii, 17, which was given to the press; "an excellent sermon," says Foxcroft, of Boston, "where the true Boundaries of "Church Power are particularly consider'd and "set in their proper Light;" a discourse, in which the power of the keys is accorded to the church officers, and to them only; care is taken to distinguish between legislative acts binding on the conscience, and orderly regulations conformed to God's word, and the right of appeal from a lower to a higher court in the church is admitted.

From this time forth, Mr. Dickinson became one of the most watchful and powerful defenders of Christian truth, and one of the most strenuous and successful opposers of ecclesiastical encroachments both in and out of his own denomination. The defection of several of the Puritan clergy of Connecticut to Episcopacy in the autumn of 1722, and in the year following, growing out of "a "heartless Arminianism and a hope of court "favor," stimulated the friends of Episcopacy to unwonted zeal in the utterance of their exclusive claims. A parishioner of the Rev. Mr. Johnson, of Stratford, Connecticut, put forth, early in 1724, *A Modest Proof of the Order and Government settled by Christ and his Apostles in the Church*. Mr. Dickinson at once sent forth a reply (Boston, 1724.) entitled, *A Defence of Presbyterian Ordination*. The author of the *Modest Proof*, utterly incompetent to cope with such an antagonist, applied to Mr. Johnson for his assistance, who drew up a sketch of the common arguments in favor of the "doctrine of 'The Church,' "and gave it to him. This the man sent in his "own name, as an answer to Mr. Dickinson, and "soon had his reply; to which Mr. Johnson fur- "nished him with a rejoinder."* In Mr. Dickinson's reply, he affirmed, that "High-Churchism "is properly no more a part of the Church of "England than a wen is of the human body." The papers on both sides were afterwards enlarged and republished. Mr. Dickinson's republication was entitled, *A Dialogue between* Prælaticus *and* Eleutherius, *upon the Scripture-Bishop, or the Divine Right of Presbyterian Ordination and Government*. A pamphlet appeared in reply, entitled, *The Scripture-Bishop Examined*. This was followed by *The Scripture Bishop* VINDICATED. A Defence of the *Dialogue* Between *Prælaticus* and *Eleutherius*, upon *The* SCRIPTURE-BISHOP; or *the Divine Right of Presbyterian Ordination and Government*, Against the Exceptions of a Pamphlet, Intitled, *The Scripture-Bishop* EXAMINED. By ELEUTHERIUS, V.D.M. In a LETTER to a Friend. Isai., lxvi. 5. *Hear the word of the* LORD, *ye that tremble at his word; Your brethren that hated you, that cast you out for my name's sake, said, Let the* LORD *be glorified: but he shall appear to your joy, and they shall be ashamed*. BOSTON, New England: Printed by S. KNEELAND & T. GREEN, for D. HENCHMAN in Cornhill. 1733.

The only copy of this rare publication known to the writer is in his own possession. Mr. Dickinson's *Scripture-Bishop* was answered, also, by a Layman, calling himself PHILALETHES, in a pamphlet, entitled, *Eleutherius Enervatus*, &c., which was answered, in December, 1733, by Foxcroft, in a publication, called *Eusebius Inermatus*, &c. *By* PHILELUTH-BANGOR, V. E. B. He speaks of "Eleutherius," the author of *The Scripture-Bishop*, as being at a "Distance "from the Press." A copy of this is also in the writer's possession, bound with the foregoing. In this controversy Mr. Dickinson did good service to the Presbyterian interests.

At the meeting of the Synod in September, 1727, it was proposed to require of every Minister and candidate a subscription to the Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechisms, but no action was then taken. The following year, it was also deferred. The proposal was put in print. His constitutional love of liberty, and his fear of any infringement of the rights of the ministry, led Mr. Dickinson to oppose it. He prepared a response to it, which was issued, by Zenger, at New York, on the tenth of April, 1729, entitled, *Remarks on Thomson's Overture, introducing the Adopting Act*, of which a copy is preserved in the Old South Church Library, Boston. It clearly shows, that, while he himself cordially accepted

* Such is Dr. Chandler's statement, in his *Life of Dr. Johnson*, p. 70.

the Westminster Standards, he was opposed to all imposition of creeds of human composure.

At the meeting of the Synod in September, 1729, the overture having been referred to a Committee of which he was a member, he succeeded in so modifying the proposal, as to unite the whole Synod, with thanksgiving to God, in the passage of the measure thenceforward known as "THE "ADOPTING ACT OF 1729," and ever since regarded as the *Magna Charta* of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, and the truest expression of the genius, the doctrines, and the principles of the Church.

Having entered the lists against intolerance in his own denomination, and the arrogance of High Churchism in the Church of England, he now directed his shafts, keen and effective, against the assumptions of infidelity. He prepared and preached to his people a short series of discourses, which, soon after, were issued from the press, in a convenient form, with the following title: THE *Reasonableness* OF CHRISTIANITY, IN Four *SERMONS*, WHEREIN The Being and Attributes of GOD, the Apostasy of Man, and the Credibility of the Christian Religion, are demonstrated by rational considerations. And the divine mission of our blessed Saviour proved by Scripture-Arguments, both from the Old Testament and the New, and vindicated against the most important Objections, whether of ancient or modern Infidels. By *Jonathan Dickinson*, M.A., Minister of the Gospel at Elisabeth-Town, New Jersey. *Cum dilectione fides Christiani: Sine dilectione fides dæmonum: Qui autem non credunt, pejores sunt quam dæmones.—Aug.* de Charit. With a *Preface* by *Mr.* FOXCROFT. BOSTON, N. E. Printed by S. KNEELAND and T. GREEN for SAMUEL GEERISH, at the lower end of Cornhill. MDCCXXXII.

Foxcroft, in the preface, speaks of him as one, "Whose Praise is in the Gospel thorowout all the "Churches *in those remote parts, where Divine* "*Providence has cast his Lot.*" "Those remote "parts!" Boston then was, and still thinks herself to be, "the Hub of the Universe."

A sermon, preached at the funeral of the wife of his friend, Rev. John Pierson, of Woodbridge, New Jersey, was issued from the press of William Bradford, New York, in 1733. This was followed, in 1735, by a pamphlet from his pen, in defence of the treatment of the Rev. Samuel Hemphill (an Irish adventurer, employed as an assistant to the Rev. Mr. Andrews, of Philadelphia), by the Synod's commission; ever watchful, as he was, for the interests of pure and undefiled religion, and ready for its defence.

Once more, he became involved in the Episcopal controversy. Colonel Josiah Ogden, (a grandson of the principal founder of Elizabeth Town), residing at Newark, was censured by the church, of which he was an active and influential member, for a breach of the law of the Sabbath, in laboring, with his workmen, to save a crop of wheat on the Lord's Day, after long-continued rains. The censure was removed by the Presbytery, and the Synod, by kindly interposition, sought to heal the breach; but the grievance proved incurable. A party was created in the church, who sided with Colonel Ogden, and gravitated towards Episcopacy. The Rev. Mr. Vaughan, the Episcopal minister of Elizabeth Town, and others of his brethren, took advantage of the event, to introduce Episcopal services among the hitherto homogeneous people of Newark. Such was the origin of Episcopacy in that flourishing city.

To counteract these influences, Mr. Dickinson, by invitation, preached a sermon, at Newark, on Wednesday, the second of June, 1736, from Mark, vii, 15, "Howbeit in vain do they worship me, "teaching for doctrines the commandments of "men." It was printed shortly after, with the title, *The Vanity of human Institutions in the Worship of God*, and widely circulated. It was read with great interest, and called "his famed "sermon." An answer was attempted by the Rev. John Beach, of Newtown, Connecticut, (a renegade Puritan,) in a pamphlet, entitled, *A Vindication of the Worship of God, according to the Church of England.* A *Defence* of his sermon was published in 1737, by Mr. Dickinson, which was soon followed by a rejoinder from Mr. Beach, with the title, *Appeal to the Unprejudiced: In a Supplement to the Vindication*, etc. Mr. Dickinson responded on the first of February, 1738, with *The Reasonableness of Nonconformity to the Church of* England, *in Point of* WORSHIP. *A second* Defence OF his "SER-"MON," etc. "I have for the most Part," he tells Mr. Beach, "purposely overlook'd your *Flouts* "and *Fleers*, and left you in the undisturb'd "Possession of your Merriment, being rather too "old and too dull to answer such kind of Argu-"ments, and to find out the Force of *Sneer* and "*Banter*."

In the autumn and winter of 1739–'40, during a powerful revival of religion at Newark, Mr. Dickinson preached frequently for Mr. Burr. On the ninth of May, 1740, he preached a sermon, from Romans, viii, 16, which was soon after published with the title, *The Witness of the Spirit, Wherein is distinctly shewn, in what Way and Manner the Spirit himself beareth Witness to the Adoption of the Children of God. On occasion of a wonderful Progress of converting Grace in those Parts.* A second edition appeared in 1743. It was of great service in exposing the delusions and fanaticism so current in "the Great Awaken-"ing."

The following summer witnessed "a wonder-

ful Progress of converting Grace," in his own church, of which he said, on the fourth of September, "I have had more young People address "me for Direction in their spiritual Concerns "within this three Months than in thirty years "before."

The next year he sent forth, *The True Scripture Doctrine concerning some important Points of Christian Faith, Particularly, Eternal Election, Original Sin, Grace in conversion, Justification by Faith, And the Saints' Perseverance. Represented and Applied in Five Discourses;* a book frequently reprinted in Great Britain and America.

This was followed in 1742, by *A Display of GOD'S special* GRACE. IN a familiar Dialogue BETWEEN *A Minister and a Gentleman of his Congregation*, About The Work of GOD, in the *Conviction* and *Conversion* of Sinners, so remarkably of late begun and going on in these *American* Parts; WHEREIN The OBJECTIONS against some *uncommon Appearances* amongst us are distinctly consider'd, MISTAKES rectifi'd, and the WORK itself particularly prov'd to be from the HOLY SPIRIT. With An ADDITION, in a second conference, relating to sundry Antinomian Principles, beginning to obtain in some places. *To which is prefixed an* ATTESTATION, *by several Ministers of* Boston. BOSTON, N. E. printed by ROGERS and FOWLE, for S. ELIOT, in Cornhill, 1742.

It had a wide circulation, was republished in the following year, and was of great service in promoting the work of grace among the churches.

A sermon that he preached in 1743, as Moderator, at the opening of the Presbytery at Newark, entitled, *The Nature and Necessity of Regeneration*, from John, iii, 3, with *some Remarks on a Discourse of Dr. Waterland's*, on the same subject, but of opposite doctrine, drew forth from the Rev. James Wetmore, Episcopal minister of Rye, New York, *A Defence of Waterland's* Discourse on Regeneration. And this was promptly answered by Mr. Dickinson, in *Reflections upon Mr. Wetmore's* Letter in Defence of Dr. Waterland's Discourse of Regeneration. *With a Vindication of the Received Doctrine of Regeneration, and plain Scripture Evidence that the Notion of Baptismal Regeneration is of dangerous and destructive Tendency.*

In the same year, 1745, his prolific pen produced *Familiar Letters to a Gentleman upon a Variety of Seasonable and Important Subjects in Religion*, an able discussion of the Evidences of Christianity, and of the Doctrines of Grace, in a popular form; a standard work even at the present day.

In the conflict that led to the disruption of the Synod in 1745, he sought to act as a mediator and pacificator, but, when it was accomplished, he cast his lot with the "New Side," and became their acknowledged leader. He took, also, a deep interest in the work of evangelizing the Indians, and was the trusted friend and counselor of David Brainerd.

The same year several publications were issued in the interest of Episcopacy, designed as antidotes to Mr. Dickinson's writings on this subject. Immediately he set himself to the work of reply, and sent forth, in 1746, *A Vindication of God's Sovereign Free Grace. In some Remarks on Mr. J. Beach's Sermon, with some brief Reflections upon H. Caner's Sermon, and on a pamphlet entitled* A Letter from Aristocles to Anthades. A response was made by Dr. Johnson [*Aristocles*], which brought out, *A Second Vindication of God's Sovereign Free Grace*, published after his decease.

His last great work was the founding of the College of New Jersey, of which he was appointed, April, 1747, the first President, with its seat at Elizabeth-town. A severe attack of pleurisy terminated, on the seventh of October, 1747, his most active and useful life, in the sixtieth year of his age. The wife of his youth had died, on the twentieth of April, 1745. His second wife, Mrs. Mary Crane, of Newark, to whom he was married on the seventh of April, 1747, survived him. His decease was greatly lamented. He was regarded as "one of the "greatest and safest men of that age;" unsurpassed, if not unequalled in the American Presbyterian Church during the first half century of its history; and one, of whom it has been said by a profound chronicler,—"It may be doubted "whether, with the single exception of the elder "Edwards, Calvinism has ever found an abler or "more efficient champion in this country, than "JONATHAN DICKINSON."

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

IX.—VOCABULARY OF THE KAH-WE'-YAH AND KAH-SO'-WAH INDIANS.

BY J. H. RILEY.

[The syllable to be emphasized in pronunciation is indicated by the accent—'.]

Numerals.

Keng'-ah—One.
O-te'-go—Two.
To-lor'-ko-soo—Three.
Oy-is'-sah—Four.
Moo'-soo-kah—Five.
Tah'-moo-kah—Six.
Ken-neck'-koo-koo—Seven.
Kah-woon'-tah—Eight.
Wo'-hah—Nine.
Ni-atch'-ah—Ten.
Keng'-ah-te—Eleven.

O-tuck'-soo-ka-na—Twelve.
To-lark'-soo-ka-na—Thirteen.
Oy-ick'-soo-ka-na—Fourteen.
Mo-sook'-soo-ka-na—Fifteen.
Tak-mook'-soo-ka-na—Sixteen.
Ken-neck'-soo-ka-na—Seventeen.
Kah-woon'-tah-se—Eighteen.
Wo-hath'-ka-se—Nineteen.
Ni-atch'-ah, O-to'-go, nem—Twenty, or two times ten.
Ni-atch'-ah, To-lor'-kor-soo, nem—Thirty, or three times ten.
Ni-atch'-ah, Oy-is'-sah, nem—Forty, or four times ten. And so on to one hundred, which is expressed by
Ni-atch'-ah, Ni-atch'-ah, nem.

Above a hundred, they count naturally by decimals, any indefinite number, by holding up their hands and whilst exclaiming energetically, Ni-atch'-ah-Ni-atch'-ah, rapidly opening and closing the ten fingers.

Parts of the Human Body.

Han'-oh—Head.
Pou'-sah—Hair.
Soon'-too—Eyes.
Nee'-to—Nose.
Ow'-woo—Mouth.
Koo'-too—Teeth.
Oui'-ko-soo—Chin.
Soo'-mo-choo—Beard.
Tol'-ko-soo—Ears.
Tee'-soo—Hands.
Los'-los-kee—Fingers or Toes.
Sa'-lah—Nails.
Oo-toon'-dah—Thumb.
Hot'-tah—Feet.
Ho'-cho-noo—Legs.
Lee'-te-poo—Thighs.
Hi'-te-wah—Hips.
Moo'-zoo—Breast.
Oong'-i-you—Chest.
Too'-you-pe—Shoulders.
Tee'-se-ni—Elbows.
Pah'-cha-loo—Arms.
Kah'-woo—Back.
Cho'-ko-noo—Belly.
To'-kak—Posteriors.
To'-lo-loo—Gen. organ, Mas.
Wock'-oo-ta—Gen. organ, Fem.
O'-no-nee—Coition.
Ka-nut'—Excrement.
Nong'-ah—Man.
O'-sah—Woman.
Esh'-el-lo—Child.
Esh'el-lo Koo'-chee—Good child.*
Koo'-chee O'-sah—Good woman.
Oo'-soo-too Nong'-ah—Bad man.

* The placing of the adjective before the substantive seems to be governed solely by eupnony.

Nong'-ah Kah-woo'-wah— Powerful man.
Koo'-che signifying good, Oo'-soo-too, bad, and Koh-woo'-wah, power, strength, ability.
Koo'-che Nong'-ah Mee-wah—A good honorable man.
Hi-yah'-poo Koo'-che Mee-wah—A friendly chief.
Hi-yah'-po—A chief.
Mee'-wah—Friendly, honorable.
Wal'-lee—A friend.
Ko'-chah } House, hut, lodge, or wigwam.
Oo'-chah }
Hooan'-nee—A village or collection of huts.
Too'-no-tee—Covering or shelter.
To'-le—Blankets.
Ho'-woo-too—Beads, wampum.
Ong'-a-lee—Bow.
Mitch'-ka-loo—Arrows.
You'-wah-loo—Quiver.
Kah-lan'-no—To dance.
Moe'-a-lee—To sing.
Too'-yem—To sleep.
Soo'-ye-nem—To wake.
Choo'-sock—To rest.
Oo'-nee—To come.
Wook'-soo—To go.
Wo'-num—To walk.
Hoo'-yah—Traveling.
Mook'-koo—Road or path.
Hot'-tah—Foot-prints, trail.
Tan'-oo-gock—Fatigue.
To'-lem—Relief.
Chah-muck'—General name for food.
Oo'-woo—Prepared food.
Hah-ki'-yin-nem—I am hungry.
Hoot, or Hoot'-too—Yes.
No—No.
Net'-net—This.
Na'-na—That.
Win'-nee—Where or whence.
Win'-nee Wook'-soo—Where are you going?
Win'-nee Oo'-nee—Whence do you come?
Ee'-zum—Up or above.
Ah-lo'-wen—Down or below.
Kah-to'-wen—Over, across, the other side.
Woo'-ditch—Let us go.
O'-kas-see—Thank you.
Wook'-sum—Good bye.
Wee'-kum—To get rid of.
Hoo-yah'-koo—How do you do?
Koo'-chee O'-kas-see—Very well, thank you.
Paw'-too-luck-sick—Expression of admiration or surprise.
Shawl'-pet—Expression of contempt.
Kah-nut'—Expression of disgust.
Toke'-to-kah—A pest, a bad smell.
Ta-mas'-kal—Hot bath or sweat house.
He-a'-mah—The sun.
Oo'-nee He-a'-mah—Sunrise.
Wook'-soo He-a'-mah—Sunset.
Ko'-mah—The moon.

To'-lah—Earth.
Me-to'-kah—How much? what is the cost?
Ah-mo-nay'—Do you wish to buy?
Tee'-nay—What do you call it?
Woo'-hoo Ah-wong'-ah—Let us remove or change our dwelling.
Woo'-hoo Ah-wong'-ah Kah-to-wen—Let us remove to the other side of the river.
Woo'-hoo Wee'-kum no Toke'-to-kah—Let us get rid of this pest or nuisance.
Koo'-chee, Skotch'-ya—Very good indeed.
Tee'-nay, net'-net—What do you call this?
Ko-sum'-moo, Wal'-lee—A salmon, friend.
Koo'-chee Chah'-muck—Is it good to eat?
Hoot'-too, Koo'-chee Skotch'-ya—Yes, very good indeed.
Hah-ki-yin-nem, Chah-muck, Wal'-lee—I am very hungry, give me food, friend.
O'kus-see, Woo'-ditch, Wal'-lee, Wal'-lee, Wooksum—Thank you, we are going, friends. Good bye.

The Elements, Animals, Trees, &c.

Too'-too-sah—Air.
Wo'-ka—Fire.
Kee'-koo—Water.
O'-pah—Sky.
Yan'-o-pah—Clouds.
Noo'-kah—Rain.
Ka'-lah—Snow.
Woo'-loo-too—Heat.
Ka'-lah-wah—Snowy monntain.
Si'-wah—Table mountain.
Wo-kel'-moo-tee—A river.
See'-sah—A creek.
Ah-kah'-wa-loo—A spring of water.
Kah'-choo-mah—Wild cat.
Ep-plar-lee—Hare.
Tee'-chah-soo—Squirrel.
Lah-war'-tee—Rattlesnake.
Nep'-pee-soo—Viper.
You'-woo-lee—Lizard.
Ko-sum'-moo—Salmon.
Ah'-woo—Trout.
Kar'-kar-loo—Crow or Raven.
Hoo'-lo-wen—General name for birds.
Loy'-e-mah—General name for flowers.
Woot'-soo—An Oak tree.
Lee'-mah—Willow.
Nee'-nah-too-ya—Mazanatta.
Sock'-koo—Pine.
Sock'-oo-too—Pine nut.
Tu'-le, or Too'-lee—Bulrush.
Tow'-sa—A game of chance played with small sticks.—*Wide West.*

JOHN G. SAXE says it is a common notion in Boston, that if a person is born in that city, it is unnecessary for that favored individual to be "born again."

X.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them: and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—ED. HIST. MAG.]

PROHIBITORY LAWS TWO CENTURIES AGO.

ALBANY, Sept. 10, 1858.

* * * * * * * * *

But I took my pen to call your attention to some quaint old records which I chanced to meet in the County Clerk's office, dating back some two centuries—one in particular, which I believe to be the first "Maine Law" on record, and of which I send a copy, verbatim. I commend it to our modern Solons as a model of terseness—and yet those cunning old Dutch Burghers knew well enough how to keep a wire ready for their own private pulling, as occasion served, as you will observe by the latter clause. It is, moreover, commended to the attention of our honorable Judges, particularly of the First and Second Districts, that beer (*query:* lager?) is among the contrabanded articles.

But I give you the document as it stands, leaving further comments to yourself:

"*By ye Mayor Aldermen and Commonality of ye*
"*City of Albany and ye Justice of ye County*
"*aforsaid,*"

"*Whereas* the selling and giveing of Strong
"Drinks to ye Indians at this Present juncture
"is founde by Experience Extreme Dangerous
"insomuch yt diverse Inhabitants at Schinnech-
"tady and elsewhere haye made there complaint
"that there is no living if ye Indian be not kept
"from Drinke we do therefore hereby Strikly
"Prohibit and forbid in ye name of King William
"& Queen Mary yt no Inhabitants of ye City
"and county of Albany doe sell or give any Rum
"Brandy, Strong Liquer or Beer to any Indian
"or Indians upon any pretence whatsoever upon
"ye Penalty of Two months imprisonment with-
"out Baile or mainprize and moreover a fine of
"five Pounds toties quoties ye Prooffs hereof to
"be made as is Inserted in ye Proclamation Pro-
"hibiting ye selling of Strong Drink dated ye
"21st day of May 1689 which is by Prooff or
"Purgation by oath always provided yt it shall
"and may be in ye Power of ye Mayor Alder-
"men and Commonalty of ye sd city if they see
"cause to give any smal quantity of Rum to any
"Sachems who come here about Public Bussiness
"any Prhibition abovesd in any manner notwith-
"standing—given Att ye citty hall of Albany ye
"12th day of September 1689

"pord
"ROBT LIVINGSTON."

I send you also a second in which you will find a "Search and Seizure clause." It appears

by entries in the margin that the same was "re-"sisted publicly by Abraham Cuyler; also that "Isaac de Peyster could not be found at home "and his cellar door kept always shutt." But what was done to these despisers of the powers that be, or that were, the records do not state—which is to be greatly regretted as laying down no precedent for our day.

"*At a meeting of ye Mayor Aldermen and Com-*
"*monalty of ye Citty of Albany and ye Mili-*
"*tary Officers of ye same ye 29th day of June*
"1689.

"*Whereas* complaint is made to us, ye Mayor "Aldermen and Commonalty assisted with ye "military officers of ye Citty of Albany yt ye "Collector is Denyed ye liberty to gage ye rum "yt is brought up from N. York according to ye "law and former practice of this Province Pre-"tending that there is no authority for ye same "The said Mayor Alderman & Commonalty and "Military officers are unanimously resolved to "maintain ye sd Excises in ye self same Vigour "& Power as formerly for ye use of their Majsts "now upon ye Throne to be accomptable to such "governor or officers as their Majts shall be "Pleased to send to Rule over us We ye Mayor "Aldermen Commonalty and Military officers "have therefore Thought fit unanimously to order "and require ye high sheriff & constables of this "city to be aiding and assisting to Robt Living-"ston Col in carrying ye sd Rum to be gaged "and all ye Casks to be viewed yt is now come "out of ye sloop of Peter Bogardus which is sus-"pected to be Rum instead of Molasses and to "enter into ye houses & cellers of any Inhabit-"ants of this city where any of sd Casks are "Lodged and if any person shall Resist you by "force that you then take special notice who they "are that Resist that the may be called to acct "for their contempt in Due time, in doing where-"this shall be yr sufficient Warrant. Given un-"der our hands and seales in Albany, ye 29th "day of June 1689.

"Pr Schuyler
"John Wendell."

From other documents, which are too lengthy for your columns, it seems that New York, even in that early day, was accustomed to arrogate to itself metropolitan powers over the denizens of this city. For once, when assistance was asked of New York to protect them from the Indians, the honest old Dutchmen of Albany found to their sorrow that they had, like the doves in the fable, when they sought the aid of the kite, taken unto themselves a worse enemy than their anticipated foes, for the Yorkers seized the fort and ruled the place.

Respectfully yours,
W. W. G.

India Wharf, Boston, a Half Century Ago. To the Editor of the *Transcript:* A few years since the *Boston Post* contained a communication giving a list of the occupants of stores on Long Wharf in former days, and to our worthy fellow-citizen Benjamin Thaxter, formerly of the firm of Price & Thaxter, the appellation of the Nestor of Long Wharf—he being longer in business there than any other person. A few days since an article in the *Transcript* comprised a list of the occupants of stores in Cornhill in 1813, (now that part of Washington street extending from School street to Dock square.) Herewith you have a list of the occupants of India Wharf about that period, or after the war of 1812 had terminated, and before Central Wharf was built. Those whose retrospective views extend beyond the last fifty years will perceive that there are now but a solitary few of those then active and enterprising merchants who now walk the earth; all except probably two or three or thereabouts being now extinct. C.

No. 1. Geo. Darricot.
2. Wm. Appleton.
3. Josiah Whitney.
4. John Houston, J. P. Blanchard.
5. James Andrews & Co.
6. Judah Hays.
7. Wm. Burroughs.
8. Jesse Putnam.
9. Peter R. Dalton.
10. John H. Price.
11. John Stevens, Brown & Co.
12. Joseph Stevens.
13. Wales & Beale.
14. Chas. W. Green.
15. Henry Burroughs.
16. Thomas Wigglesworth.
17. Henry Hall.
18. Lunt & Leack.
19. John Pratt.
20. David Ellis, Jona. Chapman.
21. Phineas Adams.
22. Pickman & Rogers.
23. Gardner H. Rand.
24. Ray & Grays.
25. Jonathan Davis.
26. David Hinckley.
27. Beckford & Bates.
28. James Carter.
29. Henry Gray.
30. Daniel Sargent.
31. James & Thomas H. Perkins.
32. Stephen Deblois, wharfinger.
33. Long Room.
34. Samuel A. Wells.
35. Samuel G. Perkins & Co.
36. Long Room.
37. Boardman & Pope.
38. Jonathan Amory.

39. Nathaniel F. Ruggles.
40. William Ropes & Co.
41. Bell & Mountfort.
42. William Pickman.
43. Bray & Bolt.
44. Benjamin W. Watson.
45. Elijah Brigham.
46. Aaron Baldwin.
47. Henry Sigourney.
48. Timothy Williams.
49. Nathaniel Curtis.
50. James Hyde & Co.
51. Benj. W. Lamb.
52. Ephraim Robbins.
53. Ralph Haskins.
54. Hathaway & Davis.
55. Nehemiah Parsons.
56. Elijah Crane, Jr.
57. James Lloyd.
58. Samuel Bates.
59. Christopher Smith.
60. John Andrews.
61. Thomas Battelle & Co.
62. Gibbs & Barnes.
63. Zadock French.
64. Samuel Cutter.
65. L. Aujard.
66. Thomas Holland.
67. Levi Dame.

Local Changes of Fifty Years in Portsmouth, N. H.—There are now in Portsmouth eight handsome Churches, and four Chapels, none of which, (except the Episcopal and Universalist Churches) were built in 1818. The two latter were built in 1808. One other large brick church on Plessant street was built about forty years ago, and has been taken down. Fifty years ago the Unitarian Society occupied the Old South Church—the Congregational Society occupied the Old North, in neither of which the parishoners had confidence that the cold blasts of winter could be overcome by the use of stoves—and so only those who could endure the cold house for three hours on the Sabbath, with philosophic firmness were punctual in their attendance. The ladies were generally provided with foot stoves and moccasins—the gentlemen wore galoches—India rubber shoes had not then been discovered. The Methodist Society then occupied the building in the avenue on Vaughan-street, now used as a stable. The Freewill Baptists occupied what is now called the Temple. The germs of what after became the Middle-street Baptist Church, were gathered in the church of the Independents on Court street, on the site of the present Unitarian Chapel. The Sandemanian Society worshipped in the chamber of the brick school-house on State street. The Society is now extinct. These were all the religious societies in Portsmouth fifty years ago. The Brick School-House readily designated a locality, for all the other school-houses were old wooden buildings, better fit for pig pens than for children. Now we have seven brick school-houses—one of which cost more than all the school-houses in Portsmouth fifty years ago. Not one of the public school-houses of 1818, except the State street, now remain.

The only organ then, was that in the St. John's Church. There were no Sunday schools, no Temperance meetings, no Lyceum lectures. There was no hearse in Portsmouth. The bier might be seen in the entries of the churches, and the friends or neighbors of the deceased bore them to their graves. There were no carriages used for funerals then—nor was there an Auburn street or Harmony Grove Cemetery.

Fifty years ago the present lower room of the Atheneum was an Insurance office, and the chamber over it was St. John's Masonic Hall. The Atheneum was just incorporated, and its five hundred volumes were on shelves in the room over Hon. J. H. Bailey's store on Congress street. There were then no bridges to connect Portsmouth with Maine, or with Newcastle, or with Rye over Sagamore creek. Lafayette road was not then opened, and Rye Beach was less thought of as a place of resort than Newington; Piscataqua Bridge being then the great place of attraction to parties of pleasure. The Assembly House, at what is now Raitt's Court, was then the only only place in town for public exhibitions and balls.

Fifty years ago, an old dilapidated building on the present site of the Court House, was the "Work House," as it was called. In it was "Union Hall," where the Selectmen held their meetings, and enjoyed an annual supper. That noble brick edifice which now stands on the City Farm, well supplies its place. The Stone Jail has been built in the time, and within fifty years the iron staples have been taken from the top of the corner of the fence in front of the jail, to which we have seen the hands of many a culprit fastened, while his bare back received the cat-o-nine tails, every blow leaving a ridge, while the cries for mercy rent the air. It is but few years more than half a century that these scenes were witnessed at the close of almost every term of the County Courts. And we have seen also the branding process, when the horse thief was pinioned down on the broad stone at the west door of the Jail, and with a cork filled with needles, India ink was pricked in over his forehead and down his nose, to form the letter T. The erection of our State Prison happily terminated these legal barbarities.

There was no imposing factory building in Portsmouth fifty years ago. The spinning wheel was then as much more common than the piano,

as the piano now exceeds in number the spinning wheels. Mrs. Tucker's loom in Tanner street, used to do the weaving for many families. There was a windmill for grinding bark on the spot where the car house of the Concord railroad stands; and on the spot where the Concord station house now is, stood that long black building the Old Distillery. On the highest point between Russell and Green streets stood Bowles' windmill for grinding grain.

Of the oldest residents on Congress and Islington streets, we omitted to mention Isaac Waldron. In the shop next east of John Gaine's might be seen John Somerby, apparently not five years older now than then, industriously engaged in upholstery. And there was Jacob Pritchard the barber, in a shop in the Bell Tavern.

A correspondent informs us that fifty years ago there were several cities in Connecticut, but none in any other New England State.

To look at Portsmouth now and compare it with what it was fifty years ago, no one will deny that it has made steady progress in many important particulars—such as we may well be proud of. —*Journal.*

Curious Epitaph.

[The following article concerning a curious epitaph found upon a tomb-stone in Vernon, Vermont, was published in the *New York Observer* in February, 1862.
The initials attached to the communication are a sufficient guaranty of its correctness.]

The version of this epitaph given in the *Observer* of the twenty-third of January, can hardly be called "genuine," as it entirely ignores the typographical peculiarities of the original, besides mistaking several important words. A copy, which was made before the inscription was so greatly obscured by time, is as follows:

"Here lies cut down like unripe fruit,
"A son of Mr. Amos Tute,
"And Mrs. Jemima Tute his Wife,
"Called Jonathan; of whose frail life,

"The days all summed, how short the account,
"Scarcely to fourteen years amount.
"Born the 12th of May was he
"In Seventeen Hundred Sixty-Three;

"To death he fell a helpless Prey,
"On April V and twenteth day,
"In Seventeen-Hundred Seventy-Seven,
"Quitting this world we hope for Heaven.

"Behold the amazing alteration,
"Effected by——'noculation,
"The means employed his life to save
"Hurried him headlong to the grave.

"Full in the bloom of youth he fell,
"Alas what human tongue can tell,
"The *Mother's* grief, her anguish show,
"Or paint the *Father's* heavier woe,

"Who now no Natural offspring has
"His ample fortune—— o possess,
"To fill his place, stand in his stead,
"Or bear his name when he is dead.

"So God ordained, His ways are just,
"Tho' Empires Crumble into dust;
"Life and the world mere bubbles are,
"Let loose to these, for Heaven prepare."

The epitaph was written by the Rev. Bunker Gay, of Hinsdale, New Hampshire, a graduate of Harvard College, but remembered not so much for his scholarship as for his eccentricities. He carried his eccentricities into the pulpit, and once preached an ordination sermon from the text, "There is death in the pot."

"Mrs. Jemima Tute" was a woman whose experiences are worthy of record. She was the wife and widow of three successive husbands, William Phipps, Caleb How, and Amos Tute, the first two of whom were killed by the Indians. How was killed on the twenty-seventh of July, 1755, as he was returning from labor in the field, after which she and her seven children were taken captives and carried to Canada. The youngest child was torn from her breast and perished with hunger. The oldest daughter was taken to France, married a Frenchman, and never returned to America. By her personal heroism, and the assistance of some benevolent persons, she at length succeeded in rescuing herself and the other children, and after outliving one more husband, and all the children she had by him, died and was buried in the same graveyard with her son Jonathan. Her epitaph says, and perhaps with truth, that she "passed "through more vicissitudes, and endured more "hardships, than any of her cotemporaries."

P. H. W.

Coventry, Vt., Jan. 30, 1862.

A Reference to the "Olden Times."—A venerable and well-known layman of this city, in a recent note to the publishers, concerning Stevens's *History of Methodism*, makes the following allusions to the early times of the Methodist Church:

"I knew them before parsonage houses were "invented, and when Peter Williams, who had "been purchased for money, (I think fifty "pounds,) was Sexton, and when he and his wife "kept an eating and lodging house next door to "the old frame church in John-street, for preachers only, when hungry or dry or on committee. Peter bought his freedom by savings out "of his fees as Sexton, and afterward kept a "tobacco factory and store in Liberty-street, "where all preachers that 'chewed' or 'smoked' "got their supply. Peter's son was Rector of "St. Philip's Church in Center-street; his congregation now own and worship in our old "Methodist church in Mulberry-street. The old "man wanted to make a 'Methodist' of his son, "but, as it did not pay so well, he lived and "died in the Protestant Episcopal service.

"I don't expect to find this in the 'history,' "but it is a fact for all that. The improvement "in the style of our churches is a modern charac- "teristic; plainness is no longer a requisite. More "brethren, and sisters too, were shocked at the "ornamental work on the front of the first brick "church in John-street than there were at the "'steeple of St. Paul's' and the stained glass. "What would Bishop Asbury say should he come "among us now?"—*Christian Advocate.*

GEORGE WASHINGTON LAFAYETTE.—The memory of the gallant French noble who espoused our revolutionary cause with so much ardor at its darkest period, is retained so freshly in every true American heart, that an incident in the life of his son may possess interest for your readers.

In April, 1796, while Lafayette languished in his European prison, his son, in loneliness and sorrow, was an exile from France and an inmate of a school in the State of New Jersey. The Congress of the United States, in grateful remembrance of his father's services, upon learning that George Washington Motier Lafayette was in America, instituted an inquiry as to the pecuniary circumstances of the youth. A committee was appointed for the purpose, of which the Honorable Edward Livingston, member of Congress from New York city, was chairman. In answer to Livingston's letter, the young Frenchman penned the following touching response:

"Sir—I have just received the honorable reso- "lution which the merits of my father have pro- "cured for me. Deign to express to the repre- "sentatives of the people of America his gratitude; "my youth forbids me yet to speak of mine. "Every day recalls to me what he taught me at "every period of his life, so full of vicissitude, "and what he has repeated in a letter, written "from the depth of his prison. 'I am convinced,' "he says, 'that the goodness of the United "'States, and the tenderness of paternal friends "'will need nothing to excite them.'

"Arrived in America some months since, I live "in the country, in New Jersey, occupied in the "pursuits of my education. I have no wants. "If I had felt any, I should have answered to the "paternal solicitude of the President of the "United States, either by confiding them to him "or by accepting his offers. I shall hereafter "consider it a duty to impart them to the House "of Representatives, which deigns to inquire into "my situation.

"I am as happy as a continual inquietude re- "lative to the object of my first affections will "permit. I have found benevolence wherever I "have been known, and have often had the satis- "faction of hearing those who were ignorant of "their interest in the fate of my father, express "their admiration of, and partake the gratitude "I feel for, the generous Dr. Bollman, who has "done so much to break his chains.

"It is amid all these motives of emulation that "I shall continue my studies; every day more "convinced of the duties which are imposed upon "me by the goodness of Congress, and the names "which I have the honor to bear.

"GEO. WASHINGTON MOTIER LAFAYETTE.

"The Hon. EDWARD LIVINGSTON,
"*Chairman of the Committee of Congress.*"

In the month of June following, General Washington and his lady were at Fountain's Inn, in the city of Baltimore, and young Lafayette was with them. They had invited the son of the gallant French soldier to spend several weeks at their home at Mount Vernon, which was their destination. In October of the same year, the young Frenchman sailed from New York, in the brig *Clio*, bound to Havre de Grace, in the expectation of meeting his father and family. He was attended by his governor, M. Frestel. A large party of ladies and gentlemen accompanied him to the vessels, in honor of his father, and he sailed for *la belle France* with many a blessing wafted after him.—*Home Journal.*

SCRAPS.—On the visit of General Lafayette to Montpelier, Vermont, in 1825, the only carpet in town was the one put down in his room at the State House.

—The "last man" of the Revolution, really. This is John Gray, aged one hundred and four years, who lives in Brookfield township, Noble county, Ohio. Congressman Bingham got him a pension two years ago, by special act. He is now nearly helpless.

—It is stated that the only man who lost his life in the *Kearsarge*, during her fight with the Alabama, William Gwin, of Detroit, Michigan, left a widowed mother, who was entirely dependent on her son for support, and though entitled to a pension of one hundred dollars a year, she has not yet received a dollar, and that no contribution has ever been made for her relief, though a sum of money was raised in Paris for the erection of a monument to the brave sailor.

—Our old opponent, Honorable Henry Champion Deming, lately gave to a Providence, Rhode Island, military organization an autograph letter of General Israel Putnam, written evidently during one of the hardest spells of the war:

"CAMP AT PROSPECT HIL

"*Sir* Please to deliver the Barror hearof
"2 Tons of Bread to some red-Islanders
"as they come from roxbury yesterday
"and nothing to eat.

"ISRAEL PUTNAM."

—The steamboat Lexington was burnt on the thirteenth of January, 1840.

—The Great Western entered the harbor of New York, at eleven o'clock on the morning of the twenty-third of April, 1838.

—The Bedford-street Methodist Episcopal Church originated in a small class formed, in 1808, in what was then called "Greenwich Village," in a private house near the place where the church so-called now stands.

—The Astor-Place opera-house was erected in 1846.

—The first interment in Greenwood Cemetery was on the fifth of September, 1840.

—One of the most interesting relics in Philadelphia may be seen in North Second-street, viz., the first lightning rod erected by Dr. Franklin, which still stretches its attenuated finger toward the heavens.

—Mr. George Wise, the last survivor of the pall bearers who officiated at the funeral of General Washington, died at Alexandria, (Va.,) recently.

—About the meaning of 'Illinois,' Father Louis Hennepin, the missionary, says: "This word "comes from 'Illini,' which, in the language of "that nation, signifies a man of full age in the "vigor of his strength—a perfect accomplished "man."

—Maria Monk died in the female department of the Prison Hospital, Blackwell's Island, in 1849. Maria, for many years previous to her demise, was an outcast on the Five Points, and was sent from there a common vagrant to the Island, where she soon after died of prison or ship fever.

—George Frederick Cooke died in this city, at a public house called *Mechanic Hall*, where he had lodgings, on the twenty-sixth of September, 1812. His age at his decease was eighty-seven years and five months.

—The value of property on Chesnut-street, Philadelphia, nearly half a century ago, may be shown by the following: "John Stoddard, a "much respected merchant of this city, who "failed in 1820, was the owner of several properties on Chesnut street, which are thus valued "by the assignees in their printed statement, (a "copy of which is in my possession:) One four-"story brick house and lot, northwest corner of "Seventh and Chesnut streets, twenty-one feet "on Chesnut-street, one hundred and two feet "on Seventh-street; value, twenty-one thousand, "one hundred and seventy-seven dollars; rent, "one thousand two hundred and fifty dollars. "Two three-story brick houses and lot, southwest "corner of Third and Chesnut streets, twenty-three "feet six inches front on Chesnut-street, forty-"two feet on Third-street, and over an alley three "feet three inches more; value, twenty-four thou-"sand dollars; rent, one thousand six hundred "dollars. One three-story brick house and lot, "*No.* one hundred; (new number three hundred "and four) Chesnut-street, twenty-six feet front, "one hundred feet deep, privilege of an alley; "value, eighteen thousand dollars; rent, one "thousand dollars. Shakspere Buildings, north-"west corner of Sixth and Chesnut streets, twen-"ty-three feet nine inches front on Chesnut-street, "one hundred and fifty feet on Sixth street, four "stories high (ground under arch belongs to "theatre:) value, forty-seven thousand, five hun-"dred dollars; rent, two thousand eight hundred "dollars. One three story brick house and lot, "ninty-eight; (new number three hundred and "two) Chesnut-street, twenty-two feet six inches "front, forty-two feet deep, narrows to twelve "feet and runs thirty-six feet three inches more; "privilege of an alley; value, fourteen thousand "dollars; rent, eight hundred, One three-story "brick house and lot, one hundred and thirty-"seven; (new number four hundred and five) "Chesnut-street, one hundred and six feet front, "sixty eight to seventy feet deep more or less, "value, eight thousand five hundred dollars; "rent, six hundred dollars."

XI.—NOTES.

A Newly found Letter from General Washington.*

Bergen County, in the State of New Jersey, Oct. 9, 1780.

Dear Sir—I was very much obliged by the letter which you did me the honor to write me by our amiable young friend the Marquis de La Fayette, whose exertions to serve this country in his own are additional proofs of his zealous attachment to our cause, and has endeared him to us still more.

He came out flushed with the expectations of a decisive campaign and fired with hopes of acquiring fresh laurels; but in both he has been disappointed, for we have been condemned to an inactivity as inconsistent with the situation of our affairs as with the ardor of his temper.

I am sensible of all I owe you, my dear sir, for your sentiments of me, and while I am happy in your esteem I cannot but wish occasions of giving you marks of mine.

The idea of making a tour together, which you suggest, after the war, would be one of the strongest motives I could have to postpone my plan of retirement and make a visit to Europe, if my domestic habits, which seem to acquire strength from restraint, did not tell me I shall find it impossible to resist them longer than my

* The Trenton (N. J.) *Gazette* thinks the following letter from General Washington has never before been published.

duty to my country calls for the sacrifice of my inclinations.

I doubt not you are so fully informed by Congress of our political and military state that it would be superfluous to trouble you with anything relating to either. If I were to speak on topics of the kind it would be to show that our present position makes one of the two things essential to us—peace, or the most vigorous aid of our allies in the article of money. Of their disposition to serve us we cannot doubt; their generosity will do everything their means will permit.

With my best wishes for the preservation of your useful life, and for every happiness that can attend you which a sincere attachment can dictate.

I am, my Dear Sir, Yr. Most Obed.
& Hbl. Servt.
Go. Washington.

His Excell'y Doc. B. Franklin.

Massachusetts Justice.—A member of the bar in looking over the court records of Norfolk County, Massachusetts, a short time since, saw the following judgment, passed in March, 1801, on one Andrew Bartholomew for breaking into the house of Abigail Gay: "It is therefore considered "by the court here that he be publickly whipped "on the back thirty-nine stripes; that he be set "on the gallows for the space of an hour with a "rope about his neck and one end thereof cast "over the gallows; that he pay to Abigail "Gay, the party injured, six hundred dollars, "which, with the goods restored, is treble the "value of the goods stolen. And if he does not "pay the same within thirty days, then it is or-"dered by the court that the said Abigail may "dispose of him in service to any person whom-"soever, for the term of seven years, to make "satisfaction therefor; that he pay the cost of "the prosecution and stand committed until the "sentence be performed."

The Discovery of America by the Northmen.—The Dane Gardar, of Swedish origin, was the first Northman who discovered Iceland, in 863. Only a few out-places of this country had been visited previously, about seventy years before, by Irish hermits. Eleven years subsequently, or in 874, the Norwegian Ingolf began the colonization of the country, which was completed during a space of sixty years. The colonists, many of whom belonged to the most illustrious and most civilized families in the North, established in Iceland a flourishing republic. Here, on this distant isle-rock, the old Danish or old Northern language was preserved unchanged for centuries, and here in the *Eddas* were treasured those folk-songs and folk-myths, and in the *Sagas* those historical tales and legends, which the first settlers had brought with them from their Scandinavian mother-lands. Iceland was therefore the cradle of an historical literature of immense value.

The situation of the island, and the relationship of the colony to foreign countries in its earlier period, compelled its inhabitants to exercise and develop their hereditary maritime skill and thirst for new discoveries across the great ocean. As early as the year 877, Gunnbiorn saw for the first time the mountainous coast of Greenland. But this land was first visited by Erik the Red, in 983, who three years afterward, in 976, by means of Icelandic emigrants, established the first colony on its south-western shore, where afterward, in 1124, the Bishop's See of Gardar was founded, which subsisted for upward of three hundred years. The head firths or bays were named after the chiefs of the expedition. Erik the Red settled in Eriks-firth, Einar, Rafn and Ketil in the firths called after them, and Heriulf on Heriulfsnes. On a voyage from Iceland to Greenland this same year (986) Biarne, the son of the latter, was driven far out to sea towards the south-west, and for the first time beheld the coasts of the American lands, afterwards visited and named by his countrymen. In order to examine these countries more narrowly, Leif the Fortunate, son of Erik the Red, undertook a voyage of discovery thither in the year 1000. He landed on the shores described by Biarne, detailed the character of these lands more exactly, and gave them names according to their appearance. Helluland (*Newfoundland*) was so called from its flat stones, Markland (*Nova Scotia*) from its woods, and Vineland (*New England*) from its vines. Here he remained for some time, and constructed large houses, called after him Leifsbudir (*Leif's Booths*). A German named Tyrker, who accompanied Leif on this voyage, was the man who found the wild vines, which he recognized from having seen them in his own land, and Leif gave the country its name from this circumstance. Two years afterward Leif's brother, Thorwald, repaired thither, and in 1004, caused an expedition to be undertaken to the south, along the shore, but he was killed in the summer of 1004, on a voyage northward, in a skirmish with the natives.

The most distinguished, however, of all the first American discoverers is Thorfinn Karlsefne, an Icelander, whose genealogy is carried back in the old Northern annals to Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, Scottish and Irish ancestors, some of them of royal blood. In 1006, this chief on a merchant voyage visited Greenland and there married Gudrid, the widow of Thorstein (son of Erik the Red), who had died the year before in an unsuc-

cessful expedition to Vineland. Accompanied by his wife, who encouraged him to this voyage, and by a crew of one hundred and sixty men on board three vessels, he repaired in the spring of 1007 to Vineland, where he remained for three years, and had many communications with the aborigines. Here his wife Gudrid bore him a son Snorre, who became the founder of an illustrious family in Iceland, which gave that island several of its first bishops. His daughter's son was the celebrated Bishop Thorlak Runolfson, who published the first Christian Code of Iceland. In 1121 Bishop Erik sailed to Vineland from Greenland, doubtless for the purpose of strengthening his countrymen in their Christian faith.

The notices given by the old Icelandic voyage-chroniclers respecting the climate, the soil, and the productions of this new country, are very characteristic. Nay, we have even a statement of this kind as old as the eleventh century from a writer not a Northman, Adam of Bremen; he states, on the authority of Svein Estridson, the King of Denmark, a nephew of Canute the Great, that the country got its name from the vine growing wild there. It is a remarkable coincidence in this respect that its English re-discoverers, for the same reason, name the large island which is close off the coast Martha's Vineyard. Spontaneously growing wheat (maize or Indian corn) was also found in this country.

In the mean time it is the total result of the nautical, geographical, and astronomical evidences in the original documents, which places the situation of the countries discovered beyond all doubt. The number of days' sail between the several newly-found lands, the striking description of the coasts, especially the white sand-banks of Nova Scotia and the long beaches and downs of a peculiar appearance on Cape Cod (the Kialarnes and Furdustrandir of the Northmen) are not to be mistaken. In addition hereto we have the astronomical remark that the shortest day in Vineland was nine hours long, which fixes the latitude of forty-one degrees twenty-four minutes and ten seconds, or just that of the promontories which limit the entrance to Mount Hope Bay, where Leif's booths were built, and in the district around which the old Northmen had their head establishment, which was named by them Hop.

The Northmen were also acquainted with American land still farther to the South, called by them Huitramannaland (*the land of the White men*) or Irland it mikla (*Great Ireland*). The exact situation of this country is not stated; it was probably North and South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. In 1266 some priests at Gardar, in Greenland, set on foot a voyage of discovery to the arctic regions of America. An astronomical observation proves that this took place through Lancaster Sound and Barrow's Straits to the latitude of Wellington's Channel. The last memorandum supplied by the old Icelandic records, is a voyage from Greenland to Markland in 1347.

FINE TIME FOR THE GIRLS.—The following is an extract from an Act of the Scottish Parliament, passed in the reign of Queen Margaret, about the year 1288: "It is statut and ordaint "that during the reine of hir maist blissit Ma- "gestie, ilk maiden ladye of baithe righe and "lowe estait shall hae liberty to bespeak ye man "she likes; albeit, gif he refuses to take hir to "be his wif, he shall be mulcit in ye sume "of an hondreth pundis or less, as his estait "moi be, ecept and alwais gif he can make it "appear that he is betrothit to ane ither woman, "that then he shall be free."

NEW YORK CITY. T. F. DEV.

THE FIRST DUEL IN NEW ENGLAND was fought at Plymouth, on the eighteenth of June, 1621, with sword and dagger, between Edward Doty and Edward Leicester, two servants, both of whom were wounded. For this outrage, they were sentenced to the punishment of having their head and feet tied together, and of lying thus twenty-four hours, without meat or drink. After suffering, however, in that painful posture one hour, at their master's intercession and their own humble request, with the promise of amendment, they were released by the Governor.

T. F. DEV.

COMMISSION OF CHANCELLOR WALWORTH'S GRANDFATHER.*

JONATHAN LAW, ESQ., *Governor and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Colony of Connecticut in New England*,

To *John Walworth*,† Gentleman. GREETING,

You being by the General Assembly of this Colony Accepted to be *Cornett* of the *Troop* in the 8th Regiment in this Colony———Reposing Special Trust and Confidence in your Loyalty, Courage and good Conduct, I do by Virtue of the Letters Patent from the Crown of England to this Corporation, me thereunto Enabling, Appoint and Impower you to take the said Troop into your Care and Charge as their *Cornett*, carefully and diligently to discharge that Trust; Exercising your Inferiour Officers and Soldiers in the Use of

* In the possession of Mansfield Tracy Walworth, Esq, of Albany.

† John Walworth was later commissioned a Captain in same troop. His son, Benjamin Walworth, was acting Adjutant of Colonel Nicholls' regiment at the battle of White Plains, and his grandson, Chancellor Walworth, was the Adjutant-General at the battle of Plattsburgh. M. T. W

their Arms according to the Discipline of War; keeping them in good Order and Government, and Commanding them to Obey you as their *Cornett* for His Majesty's Service. And you are to observe all such Orders and Directions as from time to time you shall receive either from Me or from other your Superiour Officer, pursuant to the Trust hereby Reposed in you. Given under my Hand and the Seal of this Colony in *Hartforde* the 25th Day of May In the Seventeenth Year of the Reign of Our Sovereign Lord George the Second, King of Great Britain, &c. Annoque Domini 1744.

[Seal.] J. Law.

By his Honour's Command,
George Wylly's Secr

The Battle of Oriskany.—Moses Younglove, of General Herkermers Brigade, depose and saith that being in the battle of said Militia above Oriskin on the 6th of August last to the close of said battle, he surrendered himself prisoner to a savage who immediately gave him up to a sergeant of Sir John Johnston's Regiment, soon after which a Lieutenant in the Indian department came up in company with several other Tories, when said Lieutenant, McGinnis by name, drew his tomahawk at the deponent, and with a deal of persuasion was hardly prevailed on to spare his life. He then plundered him of his watch, buckles, and spurs, and other Tories following this example, stripped him almost naked with a great many threats while they were stripping and massacreing prisoners on every side. That the deponent, on being brought before W. Butler, Senior, who demanded of him what he was fighting for, to which the deponent answered he fought for the liberty that God and nature gave him and to defend himself and dearest connections from the massacre of savages. To which Butler replied, "You are a damn'd impudent Rebel," and so saying immediately turned to the savage encouraging them to kill him, and if they did not the deponent and other prisoners should be hanged on the gallows then preparing. That several prisoners were then taken forward towards the enemy's headquarters with frequent scenes of horror and massacre, in which Tories were active as well as savages, and in particular one Davis, formerly known in Tyson County on the Mohawk River. That Lieutenant Singleton, of Sir John Johnson's regiment, being wounded, entreated the savages to kill the prisoners, which they accordingly did as nigh as the deponent can judge about six or seven. That Isaac Paris, Esq., was taken the same road without receiving from them any remarkable insult, except stripping, until some Tories came up who kicked and abused him, after which the savages thinking him a notable offender, murdered him barbarously; that those of the prisoners who were delivered up to the Provost guard were kept without victuals for many days, and had neither blankets, shelter, or fire, while the guard were ordered not to use any violence in protecting the prisoners from the savages, who came every day in large companies with knives, feeling of the prisoners to know who was fattest. That they dragged one of the prisoners out of the guard with the most lamentable cries, tortured him for a long time, and the deponent was informed by both Tories and Indians that they eat him, as appeared they did another man on an island in Lake Ontario. Bones found there newly picked just after they had crossed the Lake with prisoners. That the prisoners who were not delivered up were murdered in considerable numbers from day to day around the camp, some of them so nigh that their shricks were heard. That Captain Martin of the batteau men was delivered to the Indians at Oswego on pretence of having kept back some useful intelligence. That the deponent during his imprisonment was kept almost starved for provisions, and that what they drew was of the worst kind, such as spoiled flour, biscuit full of maggots and mouldy, and not soap allowed or other method of keeping clean, and were insulted, struck and kaned without mercy by the guard without any provocation given. That a Hessian corporal in New York Harbor on being reproved for doing so by a prisoner in the German language, answered that it was nothing in comparison of the flogging the prisoners were continually exposed to in that city. That the deponent was informed by several sergeants, orderly on General St. Ledger, that twenty dollars were offered in general orders for any American scalp.

Moses Younglove.

Sworn before me in Com. Albany. 29th Dec. 1777.

John Barclay, Chairman.

Bancroft in Error.—"This celebrated author "of *The History of the United States*, gives "the *Moravians* the credit of colonizing Ebene-"zer, Georgia, which undoubtedly belongs to the "*Lutherans*, who came from Salzburg, in 1733. "The story of this emigration he has correctly "related, as gathered from Urlsperger's* *Ausfuer-"liche Nachrichten der Salzburger Emigranter "in Georgien*, which is more thrillingly interest-"ing than even the account of the Plymouth "Settlement by the New-England Pilgrims.

"The Moravians settled near Ebenezer, one

* A Lutheran author, who wrote the history of a Lutheran Colony.

"year later, as can be seen in Spangenburg's "Life, the Moravian Bishop who led them to "Georgia; but they soon became discouraged "and moved to Pennsylvania, while the Lutheran "colony remained and multiplied successfully, "and exists still in Ebenezer and vicinity, profess- "ing the same faith of their ancestors. Thus "Bancroft [History United States, iii, 422] has "confounded the history of these two Colonies, "and given the honor of the first settlement at "Ebenezer, Georgia, to the Moravians, which "these brethren do not claim for themselves; had "he simply inserted *Lutheran*, where the word "*Moravian* occurs in that portion of his history, "there would have been no necessity for this cor- "rection."

The above statement is from the Rev. G. D. Bernheim, of the Lutheran Church, Professor in the North Carolina College of that denomination, situated at Mount Pleasant, near Concord, Cabarras County, North Carolina. He has for some years past been engaged in investigating the history of the first settlement of his Church in this part of the country; and has prepared many interesting papers on that subject, and published them in their periodicals. E. F. R.

DAVIDSON COLLEGE, N. C.

ALASKA.—The spelling adopted was taken from Cook, who alone uses it. On the British Admiralty and the French Charts it is spelt ALIASKA. The Germans spell it ALESCHKI. The Russian letters converted into the Roman are equivalent to AH-EL-YA-S-KA. G. G.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

BASHABA.—(*H. M.*, III, ii, 98.) The following quotations may be of use, in addition to those adduced in Mr. Godfrey's article, to aid in determining whether this word was the name of a person or of an office held by the chief of confederated tribes.

The first is from Lescarbot: "These two cap- "tains, *Olmechin* and *Marchin*, have since been "killed in war. In place of them had been "chosen by the Savages one named *Bessabes*, who "since our return has been killed by the English, "and in his place they have sent for a captain "from the country called *Asticou*, a grave, vali- "ant, and formidable man; who on the twink- "ling of an eye could assemble a thousand men, "which *Olmechin* and *Marchin* could also do." *Nouvelle France*, Liv. quatre, chapter xv, page 534.

The other is from Purchas, who says: "*Ba- "shabes* hath many under captains called *Saga- "mos*." *Book* viii, chapter v, page 756, "Of "VIRGINIA."

In Lescarbot the name is *personal*. In Purchas it is *official*.

Perhaps the later time when Rosier, Strachey, Purchas, and Gorges wrote, gave them a fuller opportunity of knowing the facts than was possessed by Champlain and Lescarbot. Their opinion that the name denoted an *office*, has gone into the tradition of the country. B.

BRUNSWICK, ME.

XII.—QUERIES.

ANTIQUITIES.—An interesting question arises respecting the quippu in the fringe borders of ancient Jewish garments, and still wrought on the scarfs worn in the synagogue and on the privately worn scapulary, as mentioned in Mr. Ewbank's notes to his paper on "*Rock-Writings*," viz.: Were the precepts of Moses thus ordained to be carried about the person, ever translated into written language and inscribed on the garment in place of the thread and knots? There is a fact which seems to indicate that this was done. At all events it would be well to invite the attention of the learned editor of *The Cincinnati Israelite* to it. Doubtless, he who conclusively showed that the cross was a "symbol of life" in the old world, and thus most satisfactorily explained the enigma of its being worn as an amulet by the old Egyptians and surrounding nations, can throw some light on this one. The fact alluded to is, that BOTTA in his excavations at Khorsabad, repeatedly observed, and has noticed in his great work, *inscriptions on the bottom of the dresses of Hebrew prisoners* in *the cuneiform character*.

NEW YORK. LUX.

THE ORIGIN OF THE WORD "GOTHAM." Can any of your readers give the origin of the name "GOTHAM," which has been so long applied to our city? T. F. DEV.

NEW YORK CITY.

"ITS."—Whitney, in his late work, *Language, and the Study of Language*, (pages 29, 30,) says: "When our Bible translation was made, but two "centuries and a half ago, the English language "contained no such word as *its*. *His* had been, "in the old Anglo-Saxon and ever since, the "common possessive of *he* and *it* (A. S., *hit;*) it "belonged to the latter no less than to the "former. * * * * * *

"And at the present time, few of us read our "Bibles so curiously as to have discovered that "they contain no such word as *its*, from Genesis "to Revelations."

This is the common statement on the subject. But we have examined a great many English

Bibles,—those, very old, printed at the University press in England, those published by the American Bible Society in New York, and those issued by various other publishing houses in this country,—and invariably we find in Leviticus, xxv, 5, "That which groweth of *its* own accord of thy "harvest," &c.; and in no other passage do we find it, in the common English Bibles.

We have, also, an old edition of what we take to be the Genevan translation into English, of which the title page and the first eight chapters of Genesis are missing; but that of the New Testament is retained; from which we learn that it was "translated out of Greek by Theodore "Beza; Englished by L. Tomson. Imprinted at "London by Robert Barker, printer to the King's "most excellent Majesty, 1615." In this the above passage reads: "That which groweth of it owne "accord of thy haruest," &c.

Now we inquire, if *its* in this one instance, was not inserted in King James' translation of 1611, how did it get into subsequent editions? We have found it, as above stated, in some very old English editions, and we should like to have all the earliest copies in the country examined, and compared in this verse, that we may know how this singular example of the use of *its* in our common Bibles originated.

I notice in Psalms, i, 3, the different methods employed to supply the want of this pronoun in the two English translations. In our common Bibles, it reads, "And he shall be like a tree planted by "the rivers of water, that bringeth forth *his* "fruit in *his* season: *his* leaf also shall not "wither;" &c.

In the Genevan; "For he shall be like a tree "planted by the riuers of waters, that will bring "forth *her* fruits in *due* season: *whose* leafe shal "not fade:" &c. E. F. R.

A TRADESMAN'S CARD OR TOKEN.—The writer came into possession a few days ago, of a coin of copper and nickel apparently; about the size of an ordinary Spanish silver twelve and a half cent piece. On the obverse, in the center, are the letters, I. O. U., with a star over each; beneath them, are the figures, 12½ c. Around the border, above the letters, is the name, R. E. Russell, with stars to complete the circle. On the reverse, in the center, is an eagle, with wings outspread, trampling upon a serpent writhing in his talons;* and underneath, the date, 1837. We cannot discover where it originated. Who can tell us? E. F. R.

GENERAL WASHINGTON'S CARRIAGE—GENERAL GAGE'S CARRIAGE—GENERAL JACKSON'S CARRIAGE MADE OF THE ORIGINAL WOOD OF THE FRIGATE CONSTITUTION.—"No object in the 4th of July "procession attracted greater attention than the "carriage memorable as having been used by Gen-"eral Washington when on his visit to Provi-"dence. One solitary relict of the revolution "rode within, Abel Shorey, of Seekonk, aged "ninety years. The carriage is a very curious affair "in these days, and apparently of French construc-"tion. It had not been used before for fifty "years. In the coach house, from which it was "taken, stands also the body of the carriage that "belonged to General Gage, the last royal Gov-"ernor of Massachusetts."—*Providence Journal.*

The above was cut from a newspaper several years since. Where now are the carriages therein referred to?

In 1836, a beautiful coach was built entirely of the wood of the old original frigate *Constitution* at Amherst, Massachusetts, intended as a new-year's present from several gentlemen of New York City.

Was it ever presented to General Jackson? When, and by whom? Where is it now?

CHARLESTOWN, MASS. P.

XIII.—REPLIES.

WHO FIRED THE FIRST SHOT? (*H. M.*, II, ii, 386.)

I.

The Legislature of Rhode Island, in June, 1775, two days before the battle of Bunker hill, purchased and armed two sloops, one of twelve, and the other of eight guns, appointing Captain Abraham Whipple to the command of the larger, and Captain Grimes to the smaller, the latter of whom was to act under the orders of Whipple. The larger vessel was named the *Providence*.

The object of this armament was to clear the bay of the British tenders to the frigate *Rose*, then under the command of Sir James Wallace, who blockaded the mouths of the harbors and rivers, preventing the getting to sea of numerous vessels, and the entry of such as were coming into port. On the fifteenth of June, Whipple sailed, with his command, down the Narraganset Bay, and attacked two of the enemy's tenders, which he disabled, and forced to retire under the guns of the frigate, and took one other a prize: while by the light draught of his own vessels he could keep out of the reach of the man-of-war. By this bold act the bay was cleared of these nuisances, and a large number of homeward vessels entered the port.

Much has been said and written, as to whom was due the credit of firing the *first gun* on the sea, at the British, in the opening of the Revolu-

* Query: whether the eagle and serpent refer to Genera Jackson's war upon the old United States Bank?

tionary War. After the above statement, which comes from the pen of Captain Whipple himself, in a Petition to Congress, in the year 1786, little doubt need be felt as to the propriety of assigning to him that honor. It is true an unauthorized attack was made on the British Schooner *Margaretta*, by the Machias people, in May, which for its spirit and bravery deserves great credit; but it was a mere private transaction; while Whipple fired the first gun under any legal or Colonial authority. This daring deed was performed at a time when Captain Wallace threatened to hang all who should be taken in arms against his Majesty.

Since the prospect of an open rupture daily increased, the old affair of the *Gaspe* was no longer kept in the dark; and the name of the leader in that daring exploit came to the ears of Captain Wallace, who sent him the following plain, if not very polite note:

"You, Abraham Whipple, on the seventeenth "of June, 1772, burned his Majesty's vessel, the "Gaspe, and I will hang you at the yard-arm.

"JAMES WALLACE."

To which the Captain returned this laconic and Spartan answer:

"To SIR JAMES WALLACE:

"SIR: Always catch a man before you "hang him. ABRAHAM WHIPPLE."

NEW YORK CITY. CAREY'S CHICKEN.

II.

Your Contributor "T. F. DEV." cites *The New York Columbian* of July the second, 1819, as stating that "the first shot on the water," fired in the Revolution "in defiance of the British Flag," was fired by Commodore Abraham Whipple, who, it is alleged, thus signalized himself on the twenty-fifth of June, 1775. He asks for the circumstances attending this event. These I cannot give, but we may point to a still *earlier* occurence in the waters of Maine. The occurrence referred to is the capture of the *Margaretta*, under the command of (acting) Captain Moore, by O'Brien and his crew in the *Unity*, which took place off Machias, on Sunday, the eleventh of May, 1775. The *Margaretta* lost four killed outright, while the Captain was mortally wounded, O'Brien had two men killed and three wounded. The *Margaretta* was brought into Machias the next day. On board this vessel was a young lady, the affianced bride of Captain Moore, to whom he was expecting to be married at Halifax. For a good account of this Action, see DAWSON'S *Battles of the United States*, i, 47; also the *Maine Historical Society's Collections*, ii, 242. B. F. DE C.

III.

In reply to the Query of T. F. DEV. in the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, for December, 1867, relative to Comodore Whipple firing the first naval shot in the Revolution, "the circumstances attending "that first shot" are briefly stated as follows:

The British frigate *Rose*, Captain Wallace, was Stationed by Admiral Montagu in Narraganset Bay in 1774–5, and annoyed the commerce of Rhode Island, as the *Gaspee* had done in 1722. The *Rose* had captured a small vessel, and armed her as a tender to pursue the coasters into shoal water. Captain Whipple, on the fifteenth of June, 1775, in an armed colonial sloop, chased the British tender; and after a few spirited broadsides captured her on the shore of Comanicut Island.

Abraham Whipple commanded the expedition that destroyed the *Gaspee*, but the first and only shot by the attacking party, was fired by JOSEPH BUCKLIN, which wounded Lieutenant Duddington, Commander of the *Gaspee*, which is asserted to have been the first blood shed in the Revolution. Whipple used no cannon at this time. His wife was a sister of Stephen Hopkins.

CLEVELAND, O. M. B. S.

THE DELLIUS PATENT (*H. M.* II, iii, 74.)

MR. DAWSON: Allow me to correct Mr. Hall's geographical mistake contained in a recent number. He asserts that "Wood-creek takes its "rise between the South end of Lake George and "the Hudson." Wood-creek, (which Mr. Hill's theory, or construction, repudiates, not ignores,) from its source to confluence with Lake Champlain, is entirely East of those points; although a tributary, Half-way brook, flows from Luzerne-mountains and parallel with the Hudson-river, to Fort Ann, whence is slack-water navigation to White-hall. From its sources the Hudson's course (every where far more than twelve miles west of Split-rock) is Southwardly to the Sacandaga, thence Eastwardly to Sandy-Hill and again Southwardly to New York. The West boundary-line of Dominie Dellius' Patent (assigned to his ecclesiastical successor, and endeavored to be enforced, at Fort-Edward, by his son Colonel John Henry Lydius; claiming inheritance from right—or rather wrong—of primogeniture and preference of males,) is easily ascertained; its Southern boundary—technically called *terminus a quo*—being *Batten-kil*, and its Northern (*terminus ad quem*,) specifically the *Split-Rock*, anciently named Rosian, Retsio, Rodgio, Rogeo and Rogio; perhaps different modes of pronouncing and then spelling the same word; whether Indian or French, or even Latin, viz. *regio*—hence *region* both French and English—signifying *coast* as well as Country. That extraordinary rock, a conspicuous land and water mark, is alluded to, by another name, in General Gates' disobeyed Order, restrict-

ing Arnold's cruise, which ended in his disastrous battle and gauntlet running at Valcour-island. Such permanent and prominent "ground-marks," or monuments—especially if natural—as Split-rock, always control and often either supply, or cause to be rejected for discrepancy as inconsistent surplusage, *courses* and *distances*; than which those *fixed facts* (everlasting and visible hills or rocks) are more certain, when corresponding with "locative calls" of a deed. Between such termini as Split-rock and Batten-kil a line would be run on survey or map drawn straight, if not rendered crooked, like shore-trend of the Hudson and Wood-creek, separated at Sandy-Hill by about a mile in width of ground through which runs Fort-Edward Creek. This would cause a jog to Wood-creek along the East side of which the West Patent line runs to its termination, (either at White-hall, Ticonderoga, or Crown-Point,) and thence on a *straight* line to Split-Rock; rejecting Mr. Duane's interpolation about "water to the Northward" of Wood-creek; which is disingenuous as Mr. Hall's substituted statement that the Dellius tract of land extends "*as far to the North as the Rock Retsio is Situ-*"*ated*," instead of the descriptive Patent language, "*lying between* the Northernmost bounds "of Saraghtoga and the Rock Retsio," etc. The East line, which necessarily continues North as far as the latitude of that rock to which it then turns, is obviously continuous of the South portion of that Patent's Eastern boundary, as far its last clause "from *said creek*, by a line twelve miles "distant from *said river*;" making an irregular oblong square. Much might be urged from "cotemporaneous construction" and "practical "location;" excellent subjects for protracted discussion; because "a great deal may be said on "both sides of the question;" and (since revocation of the *pious-fraud* Patent, and settlement of territorial boundary-lines between the Empire and Green Mountain States,) it is no wise important, although very entertaining. WM. HAY.

SARATOGA SPRINGS.

DUTCH SCHOOLS IN NEW YORK. (*H. M.*, II. ii, 182.)—Peter Van Steenburgh, who taught in the Collegiate Church School from 1773 to 1791, was called to teach and did teach in *both* languages. Stanton Latham, his successor, in 1791, taught only in English.

Vanbombeler was the last (private school) master who taught in the Dutch language *exclusively*, about 1785.

Yours truly

HENRY W. DUNSHEE.

142 West Tenth street.
NEW YORK CITY.

ANTIQUITIES OF THE LONG ISLAND TURF. (*H. M.*, II. i, 385.)—"THE WRITER" may find location and somewhat more of interest, perhaps, concerning *Ascot Heath*, by reference to pages 317, 328 of Dr. Stiles' *History of the City of Brooklyn: New York*, volume I. See also pages 311 to 326, for information concerning its "spirited manager," *Charles Looseley*. I think he is also mentioned in Sabine's *Loyalists*, second edition. S. X.

BOUQUET'S EXPEDITION. (*H. M.* II., iii., 180.)—If R. C., who inquired concerning the authorship of this work in our last number, will turn to the *Catalogue of Printed Books in the Library of the New York Historical Society* (N. Y.: 1859) Page 550, he will find the following note appended to the title of the book: "'I purpose sending "'you a copy of Bouquet's Expedition to Musk-"'ingham, which *I drew up* from some papers he "'favored me with, and which is reprinted in "'England, and has had a very favorable recep-"'tion.'—*MS. letter from William Smith to Sir "William Johnson, dated at Philadelphia*. 13th "January, 1766, *in the collection of Colonel Peter "Force*."

To all who know Mr. Moore, the Librarian of the Society, under whose direction this Catalogue was prepared, and who copied the extract from the original of Doctor Smith's letter, no further evidence concerning the Authorship of the work will be required. H. B. D.

NEGRO SUFFRAGE.—IN THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, for April, 1867, (*Page* 233,) is the statement from Bancroft's *History of The United States*, with regard to free negroes not having the right of Suffrage in Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia: but enjoying this right in the other ten original States. IN THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for February, 1868, (*Page* 114,) is the inquiry as to how late this right was continued to them.

In North Carolina, they voted until a change was made in the Constitution, in 1835. When any question arose on the point, the Courts of that State decided that they had the right. And in the Convention which formed the New Constitution, Honorable Alfred Dockery, now living, and the late Judge Gaston, one of the brightest names connected with the Bench of that State, recorded their votes in favor of continuing to the free negroes the same privilege under the new Constitution, as under the old.

The latter had just before, in 1832, in a public address before the Literary Societies, at the University, at Chapel Hill, expressed himself on the

subject of Slavery thus: "On you too will "devolve the duty which has been too long neglect- "ed, but which cannot with impunity be neglect- "ed much longer, of providing for the mitigation, "and (is it too much to hope for in North Caro- "lina?) for the ultimate extirpation of the worst "evil that afflicts the southern part of our Con- "federacy. Full well do you know to what I "refer, for on this subject there is, with all of us, "a morbid sensitiveness, which gives warning "even of an approach to it. Disguise the truth "as we may, and throw the blame where we will, "it is slavery which, more than any other cause, "keeps us back in the career of improvement. "It stifles industry and represses enterprise; it is "fatal to economy and providence; it discourages "skill, impairs our strength as a community, and "poisons morals at the fountain head. How this "evil is to be encountered, how subdued, is in- "deed a difficult and delicate inquiry, which this "is not the time to examine, nor the occasion to "discuss. I felt however that I could not dis- "charge my duty, without referring to this sub- "ject, as one which ought to engage the prudence, "moderation, and firmness of those *who, sooner or "later, must act decisively upon it.*" This ex- tract is found on page 20 of the published speech, of which, at least *four* editions, in different places, had been printed before 1849. The late Chief-justice Marshall spoke of it in terms of high com- mendation.

And it is not a little singular that Judge Gaston, in North Carolina, should speak on the subject of Slavery very much as Guizot does, not far from the same time, concerning that institution and its abolition in the Middle ages. In *The History of Civilization*, 132, third American Edition, he says: "The Church combated with much persever- "ance and pertinacity the great vices of the "Social Condition, particularly Slavery. It has "been frequently asserted that the abolition of "Slavery in the modern world must be altogether "carried to the credit of Christianity. I believe "this is going too far; slavery subsisted for a "long time in the bosom of Christian society "without much notice being taken of it—without "any great outcry against it. To effect its abol- "ition required the co-operation of several causes— "a great development of new ideas, of new princi- "ples of civilization. It cannot however be denied "that the Church employed its influence to restrain "it; the clergy in general, and especially several "popes, enforced the manumission of their slaves "as a duty incumbent upon laymen, and loudly "inveighed against the scandal of keeping Chris- "tians in bondage. Again, the greater part of "the forms by which slaves were set free, at "various epochs, are founded upon religious mo- "tives. It is under the impression of some relig- "ious feeling—the hopes of the future, the equali- "ty of all Christian men, and so on—that the "freedom of the slave is granted. These, it "must be confessed, are rather convincing proofs "of the influence of the Church, and of her desire "for the abolition of this evil of evils, this iniqui- "ty of iniquities."

E. F. R.

DAVIDSON'S COLLEGE, N. C.

XIV.—BOOKS.

I.—RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. CHARLES SCRIBNER & Co., *Booksellers, 654 Broadway, New York City*, as shall be most convenient for them.]

1.—*Recollections of the Early Days of the National Guard*, comprising the prominent events in the history of the famous Seventh Regiment, New York Militia. By an ex-Orderly Sergeant, a Veteran of the National Guard. New York: J. M. Bradstreet & Son. 1868. Quarto, pp. (4) iv, 201. Price $5.

In this handsomely printed volume an "ex- "Orderly Sergeant" tells some of the many cir- cumstances, concerning the early history of the Seventh Regiment, which crowd his memory; and he could perform no more acceptable service to a noted body of men, whose effective services are recognized and honored wherever they are not envied, from one end of the country to the other.

The venerable author opens with an allusion to the Company of Artillery, commanded by Alexan- der Hamilton, of which we have heard so much more than was heard of it by those who were its contemporaries. He alludes, also, to the Regiment of Artillery, in the army of the Revolution, which Colonel John Lamb so admirably com- manded. He mentions, also, the Brigade of Ar- tillery of a later date. All these he brings to- gether, forming what seems to be a regular line of succession, from which *may* have sprung the famous Seventh of which New York is so justly proud.

The venerable author of these *Recollections* was a member of the Regiment, at a very early day; and he remembers nearly everything concerning its public history, while very few know more of its private history than he. Thus the Abolition riots, when the Spring-street and Laight-street meeting- houses paid the penalty of the rashness of those who preached therein; the Flour-riots, when English radicalism, transplanted to a more genial climate, ran wildly through the city and made heroes of Eli Moore and Levi D. Slamm; the episode of "The Man in the Claret-colored Coat"— the late Simeon Draper—and other locally nota- ble events, have found a faithful annalist and been opportunely preserved.

These *Recollections* make no pretence to elegance of style; nor are they arranged, in the printing, in every respect, agreeably to the most modern pattern of elegant typography. They are, however, undoubtedly accurate; and they will be as welcome, years hence, to those inquiring minds who shall come after us, as they must be now, to those, connected with the Regiment or loving "old New York," who take an interest in the Past of our local affairs.

The volume is from the Bradstreet Press, which has become so justly famous for fine printing, and reflects credit on the taste and mechanical abilities of that establishment.

2.—*The Economy of the Animal Kingdom Considered Anatomically, Physically, and Philosophically.* By Emanuel Swedenborg, Late Member of the House of Nobles, in the Royal Diet of Sweden, &c. In two volumes. Boston: T. H. Carter & Sons, 1868. Octavo, pp. i, ; ii, 432.

We confess we were not looking for another issue of the Scientific Writings of the great Swedish Seer. The volumes before us (not often excelled in beauty and perfection of type, paper, and workmanship) for the first time published in America, have been stereotyped at the Boston Stereotype Foundry, as though *now*, after a period of over a century and a quarter since they were first published, in Latin, at Amsterdam, and after a period of over twenty years since they were translated into English, by Clissold, and published in London, the world were still in need, and would continue to need, the scientific knowledge of that day. When it shall be remembered that Swedenborg himself, after he had come into his state of Spiritual illumination, regarded his Scientific researches as of little importance, save as they had served to discipline his mind, and fit him to appreciate and record the things he was subsequently to see and hear, it must be regarded as a matter of surprise that, after a century of immeasurably the most rapid progress in scientific knowledge the world has ever seen, a call, exclusively from the scientific world (for the religious world certainly makes no call for this work) should be heard, sufficently loud to induce a pecuniary adventure so considerable as the publication of these volumes. We think we may safely rely upon those instincts of enlightened interest that pervade the trade, for the assurance that no work, of the magnitude of this, is *re*published, unless the demand for it unmistakably justifies the venture. This, it seems to us, is irrefragable proof that the world demands that the light shed upon Science, nearly a century and a half ago, by the researches of Emanuel Swedenborg, shall be reproduced for the enlightenment of man at the present hour.

The lesson this fact teaches has many aspects which challenge contemplation; but this is not the place to deal with it. It seems to belong to that branch of religious inquiry to which so many of the best intellects of the time are devoting themselves. We venture to predict that whoever shall deal with these aspects of the subject understandingly, will not want for readers.

3.—*CCXXIX Anniversary of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Co., of Boston, Mass., June 3, 1867.* Sermon by Rev. Samuel Osgood, D.D., of New York. Boston: 1867. Octavo, pp. 76.

An "ancient" concern that is, most truly, which can honestly celebrate a two hundred and twenty-ninth Anniversary, in the United States; yet there *is* such an organization; it is a Company of Artillery, whose Head-quarters are in Boston, in Massachusetts, and whose leading duties, we are pleased to say, are to listen to a sermon once a year and eat a dinner at Faneuil Hall.

This "Ancient and Honorable Company" whose Captain is a Brigadier and third Sergeant a Colonel, listened, at its last anniversary, to a sermon by our good friend, Doctor Osgood; and a very singular sermon he preached for it, all things considered.

He told of the original organization of the Corps, and wondered how it appeared, when on Parade. He took a general survey of the country and of Europe, at that period. He told of the mission of "the stout men" of New England, of that day, of their love of liberty, of their antagonism to "absolutism"—as *he* understands those subjects;—and he talked of "the New "England mind," and "the strong arm of *our* "New England," and of "the characteristic IDEA "that has marked *our* New England manhood," as if there had never been a "mind," nor a "strong arm," nor an "idea," to the Westward of Byram river or Lake Champlain. He told what "the radical idea" of New England had ever been, as he has seen it—"that man has his "manhood from God above all, and in the name, "and truth, and spirit of God, he is called to be a "man"—as if Henry Vane, and Roger Williams, and John Underhill, and Anne Hutchinson, and Obadiah Holmes, and Mary Dyer, had never lived and suffered: as if Samuel Maverick had never been a negro breeder; as if the victims of the *genuine* "New England radical IDEA" of that day, had never been swapped for negroes in the West Indies nor sent to the Moors for a market.

We cannot pretend to follow Doctor Osgood through all his wanderings, since that would require too much of our space and time; but we do not hesitate to say that in his misrepresentation of the spirit of the Fathers of New England and of the leading, overwhelming, "radical New England "idea," of the time of which he speaks, he is without excuse. It is as much the DUTY of a public teacher to learn the Truth, himself, as it is

to teach it to others; and we can never excuse any one, much less a minister of the Gospel, who, shall close his eyes to the teachings of the Truth, —even that which is seen in the records of Massachusetts Bay—and bid defiance to Him whose livery he wears for an entirely different purpose.

The colonization of New England, as Doctor Osgood must know, was induced by a hope of gain—*it was a Commercial Speculation*—and the transfer of the Corporation to America, as he also undoubtedly knows, was of very questionable legality and yet more questionable morality. That man was ever called to be a man, in New England, or is thus called at this day, has ever depended, and still depends, upon the party to which he will attach himself, both in Church and in State; and no one better than Doctor Osgood knows the danger which has ever attended and still attends the man, in New England, who really assumes to think for himself, to decide for himself, and to declare for himself that he is truly "a man." If he will content himself to run in the New England rut; if he will say "Aye" when the Elders make the motion and "Nay" when they wink; if he will swear that the Pilgrim and the Puritan fathers were the *only* progenitors of Civil and Religious Freedom in America; that their descendants were and are the *only* republicans who have ever dared to confront a monarchy; that New England is the *only* source whence have been drawn the men who, both in the cabinet and in the field, have secured the independance of the United States and sustained and conducted them to their present high estate—such a parrot, we say, may be "a man," even in Boston; but let him attempt to run on a track of *his own* selection, whether better or worse than the well-worn rut; let him suggest that the Elders' motion is mistimed or mis-judged; let him *seem*, even to think—much less to say—that the Fathers were only *men*, with the failings of other men,—that they were fond of authority, impatient of control, self-willed, superstitious, intolerant, aristocratic, arrogant, absolute,—let him suggest that the first Committee of Correspondence was chosen by the Colonial Assembly of New York, many years before "Samuel Adams' great invention," or that a three days' fight of the citizens with the soldiery in New York was publicly announced in London before even the "King-street Massacre;" let him hint that New York, or Pennsylvania, or Ohio, or Virginia would not inevitably sink but for the New Englanders who, having gone there for shelter and a better living, are therein—in short, let him cease to be a parrot and become truly "a man," and his "Day of Doom" may be surely foretold, as far as New England can fix it.

In the face of New England's bitterness against Episcopacy—even in her earliest days—to say nothing of her antagonism to Presbyterianism, and the peaceful Friends, and the teachings of the upright Channing, we are astonished that one who is so earnest in his love of "an enlarged humanity" as is the author of this Sermon, should so trifle with the Truth or so willingly become the apologist of the intolerance, and bigotry, and supreme selfishness, and unparallelled sectionalism, which have prevailed to the Eastward, from the beginning until now.

But this is not all. Doctor Osgood has gone out of his way to libel the memory of Anne Hutchinson and those who concurred with her in holding to the doctrine of Grace, by averring that they tended to favor a laxity of morals, such as John Underhill is *said* to have been guilty of.

After his disregard of the teachings of History in the beginning of his sermon, to which we have already referred, it does not surprise us that the most illustrious victims of New England's intolerance have been thus singled out by New England's apologist, as the particular objects of his willing condemnation. We rejoice that he has thus furnished a touch-stone with which we may test his own claim to respectability, as a herald of the Truth; and we are content to test him by that standard. We shall then know if, as he says, the Puritans really "wished no evil to the savage "natives"—the son of Philip, for instance, whom they sold into West Indian slavery;—if it was "manly valor," at all times, which was exercised by the Fathers while fighting the Indians or despoiling the Dutch of their legally acquired possessions; if that was "despotism," in 1765, "that "called for taxes without representation," which, in 1867, is called "patriotism," when applied to Virginia or Louisiana. We shall be glad to know, also, when "prominent Massachusetts men "were near the heart of Nation and of its chief, in "the days of Washington," if the Adamses, or James Lovell, or Timothy Pickering, or John Hancock were among them? And if the Doctor will just tell us where Elbridge Gerry, and John Hancock, and Samuel Adams, and *a majority of the Freemen of the State*, were, when the same "prominent Massachusetts men" are said to have been "at one with the fathers of the Federal Constitution," he will do us a favor and become somewhat wiser, himself. John Adams is said to have been "more of a Democrat than "Jefferson"; and the latter is said to have been the representative of fundamental principles of Government which were the opposite and antagonists of those maintained by Mr. Madison: who besides Doctor Osgood has made such discoveries?

But we must go no further, except to say that the Doctor's noble address, delivered a year ago in New York, was made of different material and seems to have exhausted the Author's supply. We hope that he will not again trifle with his

reputation as he has trifled with it in the address now under consideration.

The pamphlet is very handsomely printed; and appears to have been intended for private circulation only.

XV.—CURRENT EVENTS.

—The first American religious services held in Alaska took place on the twelfth of October, in a Lutheran church, by Reverend Mr. Rainer, an army Chaplain, who was peculiarly fitted by previous pioneer service to inaugurate religious services in that far off American possession. Fifteen Finland Russians, eleven Americans, and about thirty natives were present.

An Indignant Historian.—In the January number of The Historical Magazine, we noticed, briefly and justly, a portly volume of local history entitled *Early History of Cleveland*, by Colonel Charles Whittlesey. This notice has not pleased the Colonel, and he has employed some more ready writer than himself to write a letter on the subject, which, over his own signature, has been sent to us.

In this letter, which was duly received, the writer complains that "no public reply" to our criticism of the Colonel's *History* "can be made "to reach your [*our*] readers," and he evidently supposes that our article has been "doing a di- "rect injury to my [*his*] reputation and my [*his*] "purse." As a recompense, and in order to assure to Colonel Whittlesey that exact justice which he supposes we have withheld from him in the notice of which complaint has been made, we take great pleasure in giving him an opportunity to do justice to himself. Our readers will also be enabled to understand, from the Colonel's own words, just how much he is entitled to their sympathy and our respect.

The following is the Colonel's letter:

"Sir: I have just seen the notice of my "*Early History of Cleveland*, in a late number "of your work. It is so unkind and unjust that "I might well attribute it to some personal ill- "will, but know of no cause for such a feeling "on your part. It is possible it may have had "a malicious origin elsewhere, and was inadver- "tently admitted to your Magazine, but I know "of no one who would take this course to do "me a personal injury. Whether it was con- "ceived in malice or in a thoughtless disregard "of the feelings and interests of others, the con- "sequences are the same to me.

"It shows such a perversion of the position of "a journalist, that I characterise it as personal "and dishonorable.

"It has been out some months in the only His- "torical Magazine of the country, where no "public reply can be made to reach your readers— "doing a direct injury to my reputation and my "purse.

"It gives no proper idea of my book, or its "objects and pretensions as declared by myself "in the preface, but only a wholesale and sland- "erous notice of what you consider its defects. "It does not approach the character of honorable "criticism; it is merely an attack that cannot be "defended by the pretence of literary duty or "independence.

"I have been patiently engaged more than "twenty years in collecting documents and ori- "ginal statements relating to our local history. "Of the value, interest, and credibility of these "papers, we are better judges than you are. The "book at which you sneer, professes to be noth- "ing more. Yours is the first abusive notice I "have encountered since I have undertaken to "put the public in possession of this kind of in- "formation.

"I had a right to expect from an Historical "Magazine, not only fairness, but encourage- "ment. For the time, labor, and money I have "expended, I have never before been publicly "scandalized. By continuing this course you "can do a great injury to the cause of local his- "tory, for no one whose skin is not very thick "and well tanned, will be inclined to waste their "time in so thankless a business. The literary "merits of my work, for which you express such "contempt, where it is of my composition, I am "ready to have, any portion of it, compared, the "same number of sentences in a body, with "those contained in your notice.

"Perhaps from a chronic disposition to find "fault, you assail the typographical execution of "the book. I am willing to include this in the "comparison with any number of your Maga- "zine.

"I feel (and as I think justly) indignant at an "attack which in your position, is not only un- "generous, but may be properly characterized as "wanton; and shall make no secret of my sen- "timents, wherever your Magazine may circulate. "How this purely local history ever came into "your hands, I do not know, but I must insist, "in case any other of my publications are equally "unfortunate, that you let them entirely alone. "If you must amuse yourself and enliven your "columns by attempts at literary smartness, any "other humble writer or publisher of local his- "tory will answer your purpose, and it will be "merely a just reciprocity in you to try your "hand on them.

"I, am yours, &c.,

"Chas. Whittlesey."